

MY LORD,

A 2

THE EPISTLE.

which certainly have prov'd the most severe and merciless Plagues and Enemies to Books.

By such unhappy accidents as these we have been robb'd of the Treasures of the wiser and better Ages of the World, and especially the Records of the first times of Christianity, whereof scarce any footsteps do remain. So that in this Enquiry I have been forc'd to traverse remote and desert paths, ways that afford little fruit to the weary Passenger: but the consideration, that it was Primitive and Apostolical, sweetned my journey, and rendred it pleasant and delightful. Our inbred thirst after knowledge naturally obliges us to pursue the notices of former times, which are recommended to us with this peculiar advantage, that the Stream must needs be purer and clearer, the nearer it comes to the Fountain; for the Ancients (as Plato speaks) were *αἰσθητικὸς ἦτορ*, *καὶ ἐπιστημὴν δεῖναι οὐκ ἔχοντες*, better than we, and dwelt nearer to the Gods. And though 'tis true the state of those times is very obscure and dark, and truth oft covered over with heaps of idle and improbable Traditions; yet may it be worth our labour to seek for a few Jewels, though under a whole heap of Rubbish. Is not the Gleaning of the Ancients (say the Jews) better than the Vintage of latter times? The very fragments of Antiquity are Venerable, and at once instruct our minds, and gratifie our curiosity. Besides, I was somewhat the more inclinable to retire again into these studies, that I might get as far as I could from the crowd and the noise of a quarrelsome and contentious Age.

MY LORD,

We live in times, wherein Religion is almost wholly dispersed into talk and clamour, men wrangle eternally about useless and insignificant Notions, and which have no tendency to make a man either wiser or better. And in these quarrels the Laws of Charity are violated, and men persecute

In Phileb.
pag. 16.
Tom. 2.

אלא טוב
עוללות
הראשונים
בכבוד
האחרונים

THE EPISTLE.

cute one another with hard names and characters of reproach, and after all consecrate their fierceness with the honourable title of Zeal for Truth. And what is yet a much sorer evil, the Peace and Order of an excellent Church, incomparably the best that ever was since the first Ages of the Gospel, is broken down, her holy Offices derided, her solemn Assemblies deserted, her Laws and Constitutions slighted, the Guides and Ministers of Religion despised, and reduc'd to their Primitive Character, The Scum and Off-scouring of the World. How much these evils have contributed to the Atheism and Impiety of the present Age, I shall not take upon me to determine. Sure I am, the thing it self is too sadly visible, men are not content to be modest and retired Atheists, and with the Fool to say onely in their hearts, there is no God; but Impiety appears with an open forehead, and disputes its place in every company, and without any regard to the Voice of Nature, the Dictates of Conscience, and the common sense of Mankind, men peremptorily determine against a Supreme Being, account it a pleasant divertisement to Droll upon Religion, and a piece of Wit to plead for Atheism. To avoid the Press and troublesome importunity of such uncomfortable Reflexions, I find no better way, than to retire into those Primitive and better times, those first purest Ages of the Gospel, when men really were, what they pretended to be, when a solid Piety and Devotion, a strict Temperance and Sobriety, a Catholick and unbounded Charity, an exemplary Honesty and Integrity, a great reverence for every thing that was Divine and Sacred, rendred Christianity Venerable to the World, and led not onely the Rude and the Barbarous, but the Learned and Politer part of Mankind in triumph after it.

But, My Lord, I must remember that the Minutes of great Men are Sacred, and not to be invaded by every tedious impertinent address. I have done, when I have begg'd

THE EPISTLE.

begg'd leave to acquaint Your Lordship, that had it not been more through other mens fault than my own, these Papers had many Months since waited upon You in the number of those Publick Congratulations, which gave You joy of that great Place, which You worthily sustain in the Church. Which that You may long and prosperously enjoy, happily adorn, and successfully discharge to the honour of God, the benefit of the Church, and the endearing Your Lordship's Memory to Posterity, is the hearty Prayer of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithfully

devoted Servant,

WILLIAM CAVE.

TO THE READER.

THE design of the following *APPARATUS* is only to present the Reader with a short Scheme of the state of things in the preceding periods of the Church, to let him see by what degrees and measures the *Evangelical* State was introduc'd, and what Methods God in all Ages made use of to conduct Mankind in the paths of Piety and Vertue. In the Infancy of the World he taught men by the Dictates of Nature, and the common Notices of Good and Evil (*τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν*, as *Philo* calls them, *the most Ancient Law*) by lively Oracles, and great Examples of Piety. He set forth the Holy Patriarchs (as *Chrysostome* observes) as Tutors to the rest of Mankind, who by their Religious lives might train up others to the practice of Vertue, and as Physicians, be able to cure the minds of those, who were infected and overrun with Vice. Afterwards (*says he*) having sufficiently testified his care of their welfare and happiness by many instances of a wise and benign Providence towards them both in the Land of *Canaan* and in *Egypt*, he gave them Prophets, and by them wrought Signs and Wonders, together with innumerable other expressions of his Bounty. At last finding that none of these Methods did succeed, not Patriarchs, not Prophets, not Miracles, not daily Warnings and Chastisements brought upon the World, he gave the last and highest instance of his love and goodness to Mankind, he sent his only begotten Son out of his own bosome, *ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπῶμεν καὶ ὁ σωθῆναι τὸν κόσμον*, the great Physician both of Soul and Body, who taking upon him the form of a Servant, and being born of a Virgin, condescended in the World, and bore our sorrows and infirmities, that by rescuing humane Nature from under the weight and burthen of Sin, he might exalt it to Eternal Life. A brief account of these things is the main intent of the following Discourse, wherein the Reader will easily see, that I considered not what

*Lib. de Abrah.
pag. 350.
Homil. XXVII.
in Genes. Tom. 2.
p. 285.*

To the Reader.

what might, but what was fit to be said, with respect to the end I designed it for. It was drawn up under some more disadvantageous circumstances, than a matter of this nature did require; which were it worth the while to represent to the Reader, might possibly plead for a softer Censure. However such as it is, it is submitted to the Readers Ingenuity and Candour.

W. C.

IMPRIMATUR.

THO. TOMKINS.

Ex Æd. Lambeth.

Feb. 25. 1674

(I)

A N
A P P A R A T U S,
O R

Discourse Introductory to the whole Work,
Concerning the Three Great
DISPENSATIONS of the CHURCH,
Patriarchal, Mosaiical and Evangelical.

SECT. I.

Of the PATRIARCHAL Dispensation.

The Tradition of Elias. The three great Periods of the Church. The Patriarchal Age. The Laws then in force natural or positive. Natural Laws, what, evinced from the testimony of natural Conscience. The Seven Precepts of the Sons of Noah. Their respect to the Law of Nature. Positive Laws under that dispensation. Eating Blood why prohibited. The mystery and signification of it. Circumcision when commanded and why. The Laws concerning Religion. Their publick Worship what. Sacrifices in what sense natural, and how far instituted. The manner of God's testifying his acceptance. What the place of their publick Worship. Altars and Groves whence. Abraham's Oak, its long continuance, and destruction by Constantine. The Original of the Druids. The times of their religious Assemblies. In process of time, Genes. 4. what meant by it. The Seventh Day whether kept from the beginning. The Ministers of Religion, who. The Priesthood of the first-born. In what cases exercised by younger Sons. The state of Religion successively under the several Patriarchs. The condition of it in Adam's Family. The Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, and their different success, whence. Seth, his great Learning and Piety. The face of the Church in the time of Enoch. What meant by, Then began Men to call upon the Name of the Lord. No Idolatry before the Flood. The Sons of God, who. The great corruption of Religion in the time of Jared. Enoch's Piety, and walking with God. His translation, what. The incomparable sanctity of Noah, and his strictness in an evil Age. The character of the men of that time. His preservation from the Deluge. God's Covenant with him. Sem or Japhet whether the Elder Brother. The confusion of Languages when, and why. Abraham's Idolatry and Conversion. His eminency for Religion noted in the several instances of it. God's Covenant with him concerning the Messiah. The Piety of Isaac and Jacob. Jacob's blessing the twelve Tribes, and foretelling the Messiah. Patriarchs extraordinary under this Dispensation. Melchisedeck, who: wherein a type of Christ.

a

Christ. Job, his Name, Country, Kindred, Quality, Religion, Sufferings; when he lived. A reflexion upon the religion of the old World, and its agreement with Christianity.

Heb. 1. 1, 2.

GOD who at sundry times, and in divers manners spake in time past to the Fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son. For having created Man for the noblest purposes, to love, serve and enjoy his Maker; he was careful in all Ages by various Revelations of his Will to acquaint him with the notions of his duty; and to shew him what was good, and what the Lord did require of him: till all other Methods proving weak and ineffectual for the recovery and the happiness of humane nature, God was pleased to crown all the former dispensations with the Revelation of his Son. There is among the * Jews an ancient Tradition of the House of Elias, that the World should last Six Thousand years, which they thus compute, שני אלפים ימות המשיח (little being recorded of those first Ages of the World) Two Thousand Years the Law, and Two Thousand the Days of the Messiah. A Tradition, which if it minister to no other purposes, does yet afford us a very convenient division of the several Ages and Periods of the Church, which may be considered under a three-fold Oeconomy, the Patriarchal, Mosaic and Evangelical dispensation. A short view of the two former will give us great advantage to survey the later, that new and better dispensation which God has made to the World.

2. THE Patriarchal Age, ימי תורו as the Jews call it, the days of emptiness, commenced from the beginning of the World, and lasted till the delivery of the Law upon Mount Sinai. And under this state the Laws which God gave for the exercise of Religion, and the Government of his Church were either Natural, or Positive. Natural Laws are those innate Notions and Principles, whether speculative or practical, with which every Man is born into the World, those common sentiments of Virtue and Religion, those Principia iusti & decori, Principles of fit and right, that naturally are upon the minds of Men, and are obvious to their reason at first sight, commanding what is just and honest, and forbidding what is evil and uncomely; and that not only in the general, that what is good is to be embraced, and what is evil to be avoided, but in the particular instances of duty according to their conformity or repugnancy to natural light, being conversant about those things, that do not derive their value and authority from any arbitrary constitutions, but from the moral and intrinsic nature of the things themselves. These Laws, as being the results and dictates of right reason, are, especially as to their first and more immediate emanations, the same in all Men in the World, and in all Times and Places, המצוה, שנתקיימו בכל אומות, as the Jews call them, Precepts that are evident among all Nations, indeed they are interwoven into Mens nature, inserted into the texture and constitution of their minds, and do discover themselves as soon as ever they arrive to the free use and exercise of their reason. That there are such Laws and Principles naturally planted in Mens breasts, is evident from the consent of Mankind, and the common experience of the World. Whence else comes it to pass, that all wicked Men even among the Heathens themselves, after the commission of gross sins, such as do more sensibly rouse and awaken conscience, are filled with horrors and fears of punishment? but because they are conscious to themselves of having violated some Law and Rule of Duty. Now what Law can this be? not the written

written and revealed Law, for this the Heathens never had: It must be therefore the inbred Law of Nature, that's born with them, and fixed in their minds, antecedently to any external revelation. For when the Gentiles *which have not the Law, do by nature* (by the light and evidence, by the force and tendency of their natural notions and dictates) the things contained in the Law, these having not a Law, are a Law unto themselves, which shew the work of the Law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts, λογισμοι, the reasonings of their minds, in the mean while (μεταλαμβάνοντες, by turns) accusing or else excusing one another, that is, although they had not a written Law, as the Jews had of old, and we Christians have at this day, yet by the help of their natural Principles they performed the same actions, and discharged the same Duties that are contained in, and commanded by the written and external Law, shewing by their practices that they had a Law (some common notions of good and evil) written in their hearts. And to this their very Consciences bear witness, for according as they either observe or break these natural Laws, their Consciences do either acquit or condemn them. Hence we find God in the very infancy of the World, appealing to Cain for the truth of this, as a thing sufficiently plain and obvious, *Why art thou wrath, and why is thy countenance fallen? if thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted, if not, be lifted up: able to walk in the conscience of its duty: but if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door; the punishments of sin will be ready to follow thee, and conscience as a Minister of vengeance will perpetually pursue and haunt thee.* By these Laws Mankind was principally governed in the first Ages of the World, there being for near Two Thousand Years no other fixed and standing Rule of Duty, than the dictates of this Law of Nature; those Principles of Vice and Vertue, of Justice and Honesty, that are written in the heart of every Man.

3. THE Jews very frequently tell us of some particular commands to the number of Seven, which they call מצוות בני נוח, the Precepts of the Sons of Noah, Six whereof were given to Adam and his Children, and the Seventh given to Noah, which they thus reckon up. The first was עבירה ודבר, concerning strange worship, that they should not give Divine honour to Idols, or the Gods of the Heathens, aniverable to the two first commands of the Decalogue; *Thou shalt have no other Gods but me; thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing, that is in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Water under the Earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, or serve them; for, &c.* From the violation of this Law it was that Job, one of the Patriarchs that lived under this Dispensation, solemnly purges himself, when speaking concerning the worship of the Celestial Lights, the great if not only idolatry of those early Ages, says he, *If I beheld the Sun when it shined, or the Moon walking in her brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, this also were iniquity to be punished by the Judge, for I should have denied the God that is above.* The second, ברכה ופחד, concerning blessing, or worshipping, that they should not blaspheme the Name of God. This Law Job also had respect to, when he was careful to sanctify his Children, and to propitiate the Divine Majesty for them every Morning, *for it may be (said he) that my Sons have sinned, and cursed God in their hearts.* The third was שפיכות דמים, concerning the shedding of blood, forbidding Man-slaughter; a Law expressly renewed to Noah after the Flood, and which possibly Job aimed at, when he vindicates himself, *that he had not rejoiced at the destruction of him that ha-*

ted him, or lift up himself when evil found him. Nor was all effusion of humane blood forbidden by this Law, capital punishments being in some cases necessary for the preservation of humane Society, but only that no Man should shed the blood of an innocent Person, or pursue a private revenge without the warrant of publick Authority. The fourth was *לֹא יִהְיֶה עֵרְוָה*, concerning the disclosing of uncleanness, against filthiness and adultery, unlawful marriages and incestuous mixtures: *If mine heart* (says Job in his Apology) *hath been deceived by a Woman, or if I have laid wait at my neighbour's door; then let my Wife grind, &c. for this is an heinous crime, yea it is an iniquity to be punished by the Judges.* The fifth was *עַל דַּגְלִי*, concerning theft and rapine, the invading another Man's right and property, the violation of bargains and compacts, the falsifying a Man's word and promise, the deceiving of another by fraud, lying, or any evil arts. From all which Job justifies himself, that he had not walked with vanity, nor had his foot hastened to deceit, that his step had not turned out of the way, nor his heart walked after his eyes, nor any blot cleaved to his hands. And elsewhere he bewails it as the great iniquity of the Times, that there were some that removed the Land-marks, that violently took away the Flocks, and fed thereof, that drove away the Ass of the Fatherless, and took the Widow's Ox for a pledge, that turned the needy out of the way, and made the poor of the Earth hide themselves together, &c. The sixth was *עַל הַדִּינִים*, concerning judgments, or the administration of Justice, that Judges and Magistrates should be appointed in every Place for the Order and Government of Civil Societies, the determination of Causes, and executing of Justice between Man and Man. And that such there then were, seems evident from the *עַל פְּלִי יָדָא* which Job twice speaks of in one Chapter, the judged iniquity, which the Jews expound, and we truly render, *an iniquity to be punished by the Judges.* The seventh, *עַל אֲכִל בְּחַיִּים*, concerning the member of any live creature, that is, as God expresses it in the Precept to Noah, they might not eat the blood, or the flesh with the life thereof. Whether these Precepts were by any solemn and external promulgation particularly delivered to the *Ante-deluvian* Patriarchs (as the Jews seem to contend) I will not say: for my part I cannot but look upon them (the last one-ly excepted) as a considerable part of Nature's Statute-Law, as comprizing the great strokes and lineaments of those natural dictates that are imprinted upon the souls of Men. For what more comely and reasonable, and more agreeable to the first notions of our minds, than that we should worship and adore God alone, as the Author of our beings, and the Fountain of our happiness, and not derive the lustre of his incommunicable perfections upon any Creature; that we should entertain great and honourable thoughts of God, and such as become the Grandeur and Majesty of his being; that we should abstain from doing any wrong or injury to another, from invading his right, violating his privileges, and much more from making any attempt upon his Life, the dearest blessing in this World; that we should be just and fair in our transactions, and do to all men, as we would they should do to us; that we should live chastly and temperately, and not by wild and extravagant lusts and sensualities offend against the natural modesty of our minds; that Order and Government should be maintained in the World, Justice advanced, and every Man secured in his just possessions? And so suitable did these Laws seem to the reason and understandings of Men, that the Jews, though the most zealous People under Heaven of their Legal Institutions, received those *Gentiles* who observed them as Profelytes into their Church, though they did not oblige themselves to Circumcision, and the rest of the *Mosaic* Rites. Nay, in the first Age of Christianity, when the great contro-

controversie arose between the Jewish and Gentile Converts about the obligation of the Law of Moses as necessary to salvation, the observation only of these Precepts, at least a great part of them, was imposed upon the Gentile Converts as the best expedient to end the difference, by the Apostolical Synod at Jerusalem.

4. BUT though the Law of Nature was the common Law by which God then principally governed the World, yet was not he wanting by Methods extraordinary to supply, as occasion was, the exigencies and necessities of his Church, communicating his mind to them by Dreams and Visions, and other ways of Revelation, which we shall more particularly remark, when we come to the *Mosaic* Oeconomy. Hence arose those positive Laws which we meet with in this period of the Church, some whereof are more expressly recorded, others more obscurely intimated. Among those that are more plain and obvious two are especially considerable, the prohibition for not eating blood, and the Precept of Circumcision, the one given to Noah, the other to Abraham. The prohibition concerning blood is thus recorded, *every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you: but flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.* The blood is the vehiculum to carry the spirits, as the Veins are the channels to convey the blood, now the Animal spirits give vital heat and activity to every part, and being let out, the blood presently cools, and the Creature dies. *Not flesh with the blood, which is the life thereof*, that is, not flesh while it is alive, while the blood and the spirits are yet in it. The mystery and signification whereof was no other than this, that God would not have men train'd to arts of cruelty, or whatever did but carry the colour and aspect of a merciless and a savage temper, lest severity towards Beasts should degenerate into fierceness towards Men. It's good to defend the out-guards, and to stop the remotest ways that lead towards sin, especially considering the violent propensions of humane nature to passion and revenge. Men commence bloody and inhumane by degrees, and little approaches in time render a thing in it self abhorrent not only familiar, but delightful. The Romans who at first entertained the People in the Amphitheatre only with wild Beasts killing one another, came afterwards wantonly to sport away the Lives of the Gladiators, yea to cast Persons to be devoured by Bears and Lions, for no other end than the diversitment and pleasure of the People. He who can please himself in tearing and eating the Parts of a living Creature, may in short time make no scruple to doe violence to the Life of Man. Besides, eating blood naturally begets a savage temper, makes the spirits rank and fiery, and apt to be easily inflamed and blown up into cholier and fierceness. And that hereby God did design to bar out ferity, and to secure mercy and gentleness, is evident from what follows after: *and surely your blood of your lives will I require: at the hand of every beast* *th. v. 5, 6.* *will I require it, and at the hand of Man, at the hand of every Man's Brother will I require the life of man: whose sheddeth Man's blood, by Man shall his blood be shed.* The life of a Beast might not be wantonly sacrificed to Mens humours, therefore not Man's; the life of Man being so sacred, and dear to God, that if kill'd by a Beast, the Beast it self was to die for it; if by man, that man's life was to go for retaliation, *by man shall his blood be shed*; where by man we must necessarily understand the ordinary Judge and Magistrate, or *בֵּית דִּין שְׁלֵמָה*, as the Jews call it, the *Lower Judicature*, with respect to that Divine and Superiour Court, the immediate Judgment of God himself.

was left at a roving uncertainty in a matter of so great importance, but that they had their stated and solemn times of Worship: especially when we find among all Nations, even the most rude and unpolished Heathens, times peculiarly set apart for the honour of their gods, and the publick solemnities of Religion. And so no question it was in the more early Ages of the World, they had fixed and appropriate Seasons, when they met together to doe homage unto God, and to offer up their joynt acknowledgments to Heaven. Thus we read of *Cain*, that he brought his oblation *in process of time*, וְכִי יָבִיִּי, *at the end of days*, at one of those fixed and periodical returns, when they used to meet in the Religious Assemblies, the word וְכִי denoting not simply an end, but a determinate and an appointed end. I know many with great zeal and eagerness contend, that the *Sabbath* or Seventh day from the Creation was set apart, and universally observed as the time of Publick Worship, and that from the beginning of the World. But alas the foundation upon which this opinion is built, is very weak and sandy, having nothing to rely on, but one place, where it is said, that *God resting on the Seventh day from all his Works, blessed the Seventh day and sanctified it*. Which words are reasonably thought to have been set down by *Moses* by way of *Prolepsis*, as it was in his time, if they relate at all to the *Sabbath*, and are not rather to be understood of God's blessing and sanctifying the Seventh day, as having then completed all his Works in the creating of Man, and in whom, as in the crown and glory of the Creation, he would sanctify himself. For that it should be meant of a Weekly *Sabbath*, hath as little countenance from this Text, as it hath from the practice of those times, there being no footsteps or shadow of any such *Sabbath* kept through all the Patriarchal periods of the Church, till the times of *Moses*, which besides the evidence of the story, is universally owned by the ancient *Jews*, and very many of the Fathers do expressly assert it.

10. THE last circumstance concerns the *Persons* by whom the Publick Worship was administered. Impossible it is that any Society should be regularly managed, where there are not some peculiar Persons to superintend, direct and govern the affairs of it. And God, who in all other things is a God of Order, is much more so in matters of Religion: and therefore no doubt from the beginning appointed those, whose care and business it should be to discharge the publick parts of Piety and Devotion in the name of the rest. Now the Priesthood in those times was vested in the Heads of Tribes, and in the *first-born* of every Family. To the Patriarch or Head of every Tribe it belonged to bless the Family, to offer Sacrifice, to intercede for them by Prayer, and to minister in other solemn acts of Religion. And this Office hereditarily descended to the *first-born*, who had power to discharge it during the life of his Father; for it was not necessary, that he who was Priest by virtue of his primogeniture, should be also the eldest of the House. *Jacob*, who succeeded in his Brother's right, offered Sacrifices in the life of his Father *Isaac*, and *Abraham* was a Priest, though *Sem* the Head of the Family, and ten degrees removed from him in a direct line, was then alive, yea survived *Abraham* (as some learned men think) near Forty Years. Every first-born had three great Prerogatives, a double portion of the Paternal inheritance, a Lordship and Principality over his Brethren, and a right to the Priesthood to instruct them in the knowledge of Divine things, and to manage the common Offices of Religion. So that in those times there was a particular Priesthood in every Family, the administration whereof was usually appropriate to the first-born. Thus *Noah*, *Abraham* and *Isaac* offered Sacrifices, and *Job* (who lived about that time, or not long after) both for his Children

dren

dren and his Friends. Thus *Esau* was a Priest by his primogeniture, and that goodly Raiment of her son *Esau* which *Rebecca* put upon *Jacob*, when he went in to his Father, is by many not improbably understood of the Sacerdotal Vestments, wherein as first-born he was wont to execute his Office. Of these Priests we are to understand that Place, *Let the Priests which come near to the Lord, sanctify themselves*. This could not be meant of the Levitical Priests, (the Aaronical Order not being yet instituted) and therefore must be understood of the Priesthood of the first-born, and so *Solomon Jarchi's* gloss expounds it. Thus when *Moses* had built an Altar at the foot of the Mountain, he sent young men of the children of *Israel*, which offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings unto the Lord. Where for young men, the Chaldee Paraphrase and the Hierusalem Targum have יְנוּרֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, the first-born of the children of *Israel*; so has that of *Jonathan*, who expressly adds this reason, *for unto that very Hour the worship remained among the first-born, the Tabernacle of the Covenant not being yet made, nor the Aaronical Priesthood set up*. So when *Jacob* bequeathed his blessing to *Reuben*, *Reuben thou art my first-born, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power*, the same Jewish Paraphrasts tell us, that there were three things in this blessing conveyed and confirmed to *Reuben*, the Birth-right, the Kingdom, and the Priesthood, but that for his enormous and unnatural sin they were transferred to others, the Primogeniture to *Joseph*, the Kingdom to *Judah*, and the Priesthood to *Levi*. But though the Sacerdotal function ordinarily belonged to the first-born, yet was it not so wholly invested in them, but that it might in some cases be exercised by younger Brothers, especially when passing into other Families, and themselves becoming Heads of Tribes and Families. *Abraham* we know was not a first-born, and it's highly probable that *Sem* himself was not *Noah's* eldest Son. *Moses* was a Priest, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶלְדֵּימֹנִי, as the *Jews* call him, the Priest of Priests, and yet was but *Amram's* second Son, and *Aaron's* younger Brother. So that the case in short seemed to lie thus: The Patriarch or surviving Head of every Tribe was a kind of High-priest over all the Families that were descended from him, the first-born in every Family was the ordinary Priest, who might officiate in his Father's stead, and who after his decease succeeded in his room, the younger Brethren, when leaving their Father's house, and themselves becoming heads of Families, and their seats removed too far distant to make use of the ordinary Priesthood, did themselves take the office upon them, and exercise it over all those that were under them, and sprung from them, though the main honour and dignity was reserved for the Priesthood of the first-born. Thus *Abraham*, though but a second Son, yet when become the head of a great Family, and removed into another Country, became a Priest, and that not only during the life of his Father, but of *Sem* himself, the grand surviving Patriarch of that time. I observe no more concerning this, than that this right of the first-born was a prime honour and privilege, and therefore the reason (say the * *Jews*) why *Jacob* was so greatly desirous of the birth-right, was because in those days the Priesthood was entail'd upon it. And for this chiefly no doubt it was that *Esau* is called בְּלֵעֵזְרָא, a profane person, for selling his birth-right for a mess of Pottage, because thereby he made so light of the sacred honour of the Priesthood, the venerable office of ministering before God.

11. HAVING thus seen what were the Laws, what the Worship of those times, it remains briefly to consider what was the face of the Church, and the state of Religion under the several Patriarchs of this Oeconomy. Not to meddle with the story either of the Creation or Apostasy of *Adam*,

no

|| R. Eliez.
Maaf. Boref.
c. 22. *Ibid.*

cibleable with such a sense, if it were, yet דוקק חסד as one of the || *Rabbins* has well noted, that there wants a foundation for any such exposition, no mention being made in *Moses* his story of any such false Gods as were then worshipped, no footsteps of Idolatry appearing in the World till after the Flood. Nor indeed is it reasonable to suppose, that the Creation of the World being yet fresh in memory, and Divine Traditions so lately received from *Adam*, and God frequently communicating himself to men, that the case being thus, men could in so short a time be fallen under so great an apostasie, as wholly to forget and renounce the true God, and give Divine honours to senseless and inanimate creatures; I can hardly think that the *Cainites* themselves should be guilty of this, much less *Enosh* and his Children. The meaning of the words then is plainly this, That in *Enosh* his time the holy Line being greatly multiplied, they applied themselves to the worship of God in a more publick and remarkable manner, either by framing themselves into more distinct societies for the exercise of publick worship, or by meeting at more fixed and stated times, or by invoking God under more solemn and peculiar rites than they had done before. And this probably they did the rather, to obviate that torrent of profaneness and impiety, which by means of the sons of *Cain* they saw flowing in upon the World. This will be farther confirmed, if we take the words as by some they are rendered, *then men began to be called by the name of the Lord*, that is, the difference and separation that was between the children of *Seth* and *Cain* every day ripening into a wider distance, the posterity of *Seth* began to take to themselves a distinctive title, that the World might the better distinguish between those who kept to the service of God, and those who threw off Religion, and let loose the reins to disorder and impiety. And hereof we meet with clear intimation in the story of those times when we read of בני אלהים, *the sons of God*, (who doubtless were the pious and devout posterity of *Seth*, calling themselves after the name of the Lord, whom they constantly and sincerely worshipped, notwithstanding the fancy of *Josephus*, and the Fathers, that they were Angels, or that of the Jewish Paraphrasts, that they were בני רבבות the sons of great men and Princes) in opposition to the בני אדם, *the sons of men*, the impure and debauched posterity of *Cain*, who made light of Religion, and were wholly governed by earthly and sensual inclinations. And the matching of these *sons of God* with the *daughters of men*, that is, those of the Family of *Cain*, and the fatal consequences of those unhappy marriages, was that which provoked God to destroy the World. I have no more to add concerning *Enosh*, than that we are told, that dying he gave the same commands to his Children, which he had received of his Father, that they should make Religion their great care and business, and keep themselves pure from society and converse with the Line of *Cain*.

14. AFTER *Enosh* was his son *Kenan*, who, as the Arabian * Historian inform us, ruled the people committed to him by a wife and excellent government, and gave the same charge at his death that had been given to him. Next *Kenan* comes *Mabalaleel*, who carries devotion and piety in his very name, signifying, *one that praises God*, of whom they say, that he trained up the people in ways of justice and piety, blessed his Children at his death, and having charged them to separate from the *Cainites*, appointed his son *Jared* to be his successeur; whose name denotes a *descent*, probably either because of the notable decrease and declension of piety in his time, or because in his days some of the *Sethites* descended from the holy Mountain to mix with the posterity of *Cain*. For so the * Oriental writers inform us,

* Elmac. & Patric. apud Hotting. ubi supr. p. 235.

us, that a great noise and shout coming up from the Valley, an hundred of the holy Mountainers agreed to go down to the sons of *Cain*, whom *Jared* endeavoured to hinder by all the arts of counsel and persuasion. But what can stop a mind bent upon an evil course: down they went, and being ravished with the beauty of the *Cainite* women, promiscuously committed folly and lewdness with them; from whence sprang a race of Giants, men of vast and robust bodies, but of more vicious and ungovernable tempers, who made their Will their Law, and Might the standard and rule of Equity. Attempting to return back to the holy Mount, Heaven had shut up their way, the stones of the Mountain burning like fire when they came upon them; which whether the Reader will have faith enough to believe, I know not. *Jared* being near his death, advised his Children to be wife by the folly of their Brethren, and to have nothing to do with that profane generation. His son *Enoch* followed in his steps, a man of admirable strictness and piety, and peculiarly exemplary for his innocent and holy conversation, it being particularly noted of him, that *he walked with God*: He set the Divine Majesty before him, as the guide and pattern, the spectator and rewarder of his actions, in all his ways endeavoured to approve himself to his All-seeing eye, by doing nothing but what was grateful and acceptable to him; he was the great instance of virtue and goodness in an evil Age, and by the even tenour and constancy of a holy and a religious life shewed his firm belief and expectation of a future state, and his hearty dependence upon the Divine Goodness for the rewards of a better life. And God who is never behind-hand with his servants, crowned his extraordinary obedience with an uncommon reward. By faith *Enoch* was translated, that he should not see death, and was not found, because God had translated him: For before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God. And what that faith was, is plain by what follows after, a belief of God's Being and his Bounty. Without faith it is impossible to please him: For he that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. What this translation was, and whither it was made, whether into that Terrestrial Paradise out of which *Adam* was expelled and banished, and whereunto *Enoch* had desired of God he might be translated, as some fancy, or whether placed among the Stars, as others, or carried into the highest Heavens, as others will have it, were nice and useless speculations. 'Tis certain he was taken out of these mutable Regions, and set beyond the reach of those miseries and misfortunes, to which a present state of sin and mortality does betray us; translated, probably, both Soul and Body, that he might be a type and specimen of a future Resurrection, and a sensible demonstration to the World that there is a reward for the righteous, and another state after this, wherein good Men shall be happy for ever. I pass by the fancy of the Jews as vain and frivolous, that though *Enoch* was a good Man, yet was he very mutable and inconstant and apt to be led aside, and that this was the reason, why God translated him so soon, lest he should have been debauched by the charms and allurements of a wicked World. He was an eminent Prophet, and a fragment of his Prophecy is yet extant in St. Jude's Epistle, by which it appears, that wickedness was then grown rampant, and the manners of men very corrupt and vicious, and that he as plainly told them of their faults, and that Divine Vengeance that would certainly overtake them. Of *Methuselah* his Son nothing considerable is upon record, but his great Age, living full CCCCLXIX Years (the longest proportion which any of the Patriarchs attained to) and died in that very Year wherein the Flood came upon the World.

15. FROM his Son *Lamech*, concerning whom we find nothing memorable, we proceed to his Grand-child *Noah*, by the very imposition of whose Name his Parents prefiged that he would be a refreshment and comfort to the World, and highly instrumental to remove that curse which God by an Universal Deluge was bringing upon the Earth, *He called his Name Noah, saying, this same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed*; he was one in whom his Parents did acquiesce and rest satisfied, that he would be eminently useful and serviceable to the World. Indeed he proved a person of incomparable sanctity and integrity, a Preacher of righteousness to others, and who as carefully practised it himself. *He was a just man, and perfect in his generation, and he walked with God.* He did not warp and decline with the humour of the Age he lived in, but maintained his station and kept his Line. *He was upright in his Generation.* 'Tis no thanks to be religious, when it is the humour and fashion of the Times: the great trial is, when we live in the midst of a corrupt generation. It is the crown of virtue to be good, when there are all manner of temptations to the contrary, when the greatest part of Men go the other way, when virtue and honesty are laughed and drolled on, and censured as an over-wise and affected singularity; when lust and debauchery are accounted the modes of Gallantry, and pride and oppression suffered to ride in prosperous triumphs without controul. Thus it was with *Noah*, he contended with the Vices of the Age, and dared to own God and Religion, when almost all Mankind besides himself had rejected and thrown them off. For in his time wickedness openly appeared with a brazen Forehead, and violence had covered the face of the Earth, the promiscuous mixtures of the Children of *Seth* and *Cain* had produced *Giants* and mighty Men, men strong to do evil, and who had as much will as power, *ὡς ἔσται παῖδες, καὶ πάντες ὑπερήλικοι καὶ διὰ τὴν τῇ δυνάμει πεποιθότες*, as *Josephus* describes them, a race of men insolent and ungovernable, scornfull and injurious, and who bearing up themselves in the confidence of their own strength, despised all justice and equity, and made every thing truckle under their extravagant lusts and appetites. The very same character does *Lucian* give of the Men of this Age, speaking of the times of *Deucalion* (their *Noah*) and the Flood, *ὡς ἔσται καὶ τότε ἰσθλές* (says he) *ἀδύμνητα ἔργα ἐπαινοῦν· ἐπὶ δὲ ὄρεα ἐρύλασιν, ἐπὶ ἕρως ἐπὶ καλῶ, ἐπὶ ἱκανῶν ἡδονῶν, οὐδὲν δὲ σπουδῆς ἢ μετὰ δὴν συμφορῇ ἀντιθέλω· οὐδὲ δὲ ἢ καὶ πολλὰ ὅσους ἐκείνους, &c.* Men exceedingly scornfull and contumelious, and guilty of the most unrighteous and enormous actions, violating all Oaths and Covenants, throwing off kindness and hospitality, and rejecting all addresses and supplications made to them. For which cause great miseries overtook them: for Heaven and Earth, Seas and Rivers conspired together to pour out mighty Floods upon the World; which swept all away, but *Deucalion* onely, who for his prudence and piety was left to repair Mankind. And so he goes on with the relation consonant to the accounts of the sacred Story. This infection had spread it self over all parts, and was become so general and epidemical, that all *Flesh* had corrupted their ways, and scarce any besides *Noah* left to keep up the face of a Church, and the profession of Religion. Things being come to this pass quickly alarm'd the Divine Justice, and made the World ripe for vengeance; the patience of God was now tired out, and he resolv'd to make Mankind feel the just effects of his incensed severity. But yet in the midst of judgment he remembers mercy: he tells them, that though he would not suffer his patience to be eternally prostituted to the wanton humours of wicked men, yet that he would bear with them CXX Years longer in order to their reformation. So loth is God to

take

take advantage of the sins of men, *not willing that any should perish, but that all should come unto repentance.* In the mean time righteous *Noah* found favour with Heaven (a good man hath a peculiar guardianship and protection in the worst of times) and God orders him to prepare an Ark for the saving of his House. An hundred years was this Ark in building, not but that it might have been finished in a far less time, but that God was willing to give them so long a space for wife and sober considerations, *Noah* preaching all the while both by his doctrine and his practice, that they would break off their sins by repentance, and prevent their ruine. But they that are filthy, will be filthy still; the hardened World persisted in their impieties, till the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermost; and destroyed the World of the ungodly. God shut up *Noah*, his Wife, his three Sons and their Wives into the Ark, together with provisions, and so many Creatures of every sort as were sufficient not onely for food, but for reparation of the kind (Miracles must not be expected, where ordinary means may be had) and then opened the Windows of Heaven, and broke up the Fountains of the Deep, and brought in the Flood that swept all away. Twelve months *Noah* and his Family continued in this floating habitation; when the Waters being gone, and the Earth dried, he came forth, and the first thing he did, was to erect an Altar, and offer up an Eucharistical Sacrifice to God for so remarkable a deliverance (some of the *Jews* tell us, that coming out of the Ark he was bitten by a Lyon, and rendered unfit for Sacrifice, and that therefore *Sem* did it in his room) he did not concern himself for food, or a present habitation, but immediately betook himself to his devotion. God was infinitely pleased with the pious and grateful sense of the good man, and openly declared that his displeasure was over, and that he would no more bring upon the World such effects of his severity as he had lately done, and that the Ordinances of Nature should duly perform their constant motions, and regularly observe their periodical revolutions. And because Man was the principal Creature in this lower World, he restored to him his Charter of Dominion and Sovereignty over the Creatures, and by enacting some Laws against Murder and Cruelty secured the peace and happiness of his life: and then established a Covenant with *Noah* and all Mankind, that he would no more drown the World, for the ratification and enurance whereof he placed the *Rain-bow* in the Clouds, as a perpetual sign and memorial of his Promise. *Noah* after this betook himself to Husbandry, and planting Vineyards, and being unwarily overtaken with the fruit of the Vine, became a scorn to *Cham* one of his own Sons, while the two others piously covered their Father's shame. Awaking out of his sleep, and knowing what had been done, he prophetically cursed *Cham* and his Posterity; blessed *Sem*, and in *Japhet* foretold the calling of the *Gentiles* to the worship of God, and the knowledge of the *Messiah*, that God should enlarge *Japhet*, and he should dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. He died in the DCCCCL Year of his Age, having seen both Worlds, that before the Flood, and that which came after it.

16. *SEM* and *Japhet* were the two good Sons of *Noah*, in the assigning whose primogeniture, though the Scripture be not positive and decretory, yet do the most probable reasons appear for *Japhet*, especially if we compute their Age. *Sem* was an Hundred Years old Two Years after the Flood (for then he begat *Arphaxad*) now the Flood happened just in the DC Year of *Noah's* Age; whence it follows that *Sem* was born, when his Father was Five Hundred and Two Years old. But *Noah* being expressly said to have begotten Sons in the Five Hundredth Year of his Age, plain it is that there must be one Son at least Two Years elder than *Sem*, which could

b 3

be

Gen. 5. 29.

Gen. 6. 9.

Antiquit. Jud.
lib. 1. c. 4. p. 8.De Des Syria.
p. 822. Tom. 2.

Gen. 11. 10.

7. 11.

5. 32.

10. 21.

be no other than *Japhet*, *Cham* being acknowledged by all the Younger Brother. And hence it is that *Sem* is called, the Brother *יפת* *Japhet* the Greater, or as we render it, *the Elder*. They were both pious and devout Men, having been brought up under the religious Institutions, not only of their Father *Noah*, but their Grand-father *Lamech*, and their Great-grand-father *Methuselah*, who had for some hundreds of years conversed with *Adam*. The holy story records nothing concerning the state of Religion in their days, and little heed is to be given to the *Eastern* Writers, when they tell us of *Sem*, that according to the command of his Father he took the *Body of Adam*, which *Noah* had secretly hidden in the Ark, and joyning him self to *Melchisedeck*, they went and buried it in the heart of the Earth, an Angel going before, and conducting them to the place, with a great deal more, with little truth, and to as little purpose. As for the Patriarchs born after the Flood, little notice is taken of them besides the bare mention of their names, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Eber*. Of this last they say, that he was a great Prophet, that he instituted Schools and seminars for the advancement and propagation of Religion : and there was great reason for him to bestir himself, if it be true, what the *Arabian* Historians tell us, that now Idolatry began mightily to prevail, and men generally carved to themselves the *Images* of their Ancestours, to which upon all occasions they addressed themselves with the most solemn veneration, the *Demons* giving answers through the *Images* which they worshipped. *Heber* was the Father of the *Jewish* Nation, who from him are said to have derived the title of *Hebrews*, *Ἑβραῖοι*, *אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ יְהוּדִים* *Hebraei* *Ἑβραῖοι* *אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ יְהוּדִים*, as *Josephus* tells us, (though there want not those who assign other reasons of the name) and that the *Hebrew* Language was preserved in his family, which till his time had been the mother-tongue, and the common Language of the World. To *Eber* succeeded his son *Peleg*, a name given him out of a Prophetic foresight of that memorable *division* that hapned in his time. For now it was that a company of bold daring persons combining themselves under the conduct and command of *Nimrod*, resolved to erect a vast and stupendous Fabrick, partly to raise themselves a mighty reputation in the World, partly to secure themselves from the Invasion of an after-deluge, and probably as a place of retreat and defence, the better to enable them to put in practice that oppression and tyranny which they designed to exercise over the World. But whatever it was, God was displeased with the attempt, and to shew how easily he can baffle the subtlest Councils, and in a moment subvert the firmest projects, on a sudden he confounded the Language of these foolish Builders, so that they were forced to desert from their vain and ambitious design, as not being able to understand and converse with one another. To *Peleg* succeeded his son *Rehu*, to *Rehu* *Serng*, to him *Nachor*, to *Nachor* *Terah*, who dwelt in *Ur of the Chaldeans*, where conversing with those Idolatrous Nations, he laps'd himself into the most gross Idolatry. So apt are men to follow a multitude to do evil, to fatally mischievous is ill company, and a bad example. But the best way to avoid the plague, is to remove out of the house of infection. Away goes *Terah* to *Haran*, where by repentance he is said to have recovered himself out of the snare of the Devil.

17. **ABRAHAM** the second son of *Terah* succeeds in the Patriarchal Line. In his minority he was educated in the Idolatries of his Father's house, who, they say, was a maker of Statues and Images : And the *Tews* tell us many pleasant stories of *Abraham's* going into the shop in the absence of his Father, his breaking the Images, and jeering those that came to buy, or worship them ; of his Father's carrying him to *Nimrod* to be punished,

his witty answers, and miraculous escapes. But God who had designed him for higher and nobler purposes, called him at length out of his Father's house, fully discovered himself to him, and by many solemn promises and federal compacts peculiarly ingaged him to himself. He was a man intirely devoted to the honour of God, and had consecrated all his services to the interests of Religion, scarce any duty either towards God or men for which he is not eminent upon record. Towards God, how great was his zeal and care to promote his worship? erecting Altars almost in every place, whereon he publicly offered his prayers and sacrifice. His love to God wholly swallowed up the love and regard that he had to his dearest interests, witness his intire renegation of himself, his chearfull renouncing all the concerns of his Estate and Family, and especially his readines to sacrifice his only son, the son of his old age, and which is above all, the son of the promise, when God by way of trial required it of him. How vigorous and triumphant was his faith, especially in the great promise of a son, which he firmly embraced against all humane probabilities to the contrary? *Against hope he believed in hope, and being strong in faith, gave glory to God.* How hearty was his dependence upon the Divine Providence, when called to leave his Father's house, and to go into a strange Country, how chearfully did he obey and go out, though he knew not whither he went? How unconquerable was his patience, how even the composure of his mind in all conditions? In fifteen several journeys that he undertook, and ten difficult temptations which he underwent, he never betrayed the least murmuring or hard thought of God. Towards others he shewed the greatest tenderness and respect, the most meek and unpassionate temper, a mind inflamed with a desire of peace and concord: Admirable his justice and equity in all his dealings, his great hospitality and bounty towards strangers, and for that end (say the Jews) he got him an house near the entring into Haran, that he might entertain strangers as they went in, or came out of the City, at his own Table; as indeed he seems to have had that most excellent and Divine temper of mind, an universal love and charity towards all men. But his greatest charity appeared in the care that he took of the Souls of men. Maimonides tells us, that he kept a publick School of instruction, whither he gathered men together, and instructed them in that truth, which he himself had embraced, and he gives us an account by what methods of reasoning and information he used to convince and persuade them. But whatever he did towards others, we are sure he did it towards those that were under his own charge. He had a numerous family, and a vast retinue, and he was as careful to inform them in the knowledge of the true God, and to instruct them in all the duties of Religion. 'Tis the character which God himself gave of him, *I know Abraham, that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgement.* And so he did, his house being a School of piety, wherein Religion was both taught and practised, many reclaimed from the errors and idolatries of the times, and all his domesticks and dependents solemnly dedicated to God by Circumcision. Therefore when 'tis said, that he brought with him all the Souls which they had gotten in Haran, the Paraphrase of Onkelos renders it, *לְאֻמֵּי חַרָּן*, *Jonathan's Targum,* the Souls which they had subjected to the Law in Haran; and much at the same rate that of *Jerusalem*, *נַפְשֵׁי חַרָּן*, the Souls which they had made proselytes in Haran, or as *Solomon Jarchi* expresses it, a little more after the Hebrew mode, the Souls which they had gathered, *נַפְשֵׁי חַרָּן* under the wings of the Divine Majesty; and he the

Mor. Nevoch.
part. 2. cap. 39
p. 301.

Gen. 14. 14.

ther adds, that *Abraham* profelyted the men, and *Sarah* the women. So when elsewhere we read of his *trained servants*, some of the *Jewish* Masters expound it by *הניכים למצות* those that were initiated and trained up in the knowledge of the Law. Such being the temper of this holy man, God was pleased frequently to converse with him, and to impart his mind to him, acquainting him with the secret counsels and purposes of his Providence, whence he is styled the friend of God. But that which shewed him to be most dear to Heaven, was the Covenant which God solemnly made with him, wherein binding *Abraham* and his Seed to a sincere and universal obedience, he obliged himself to become *their God*, to be his shield and his exceeding great reward, to take his posterity for his peculiar people, to encrease their number, and to enlarge their power, to settle them in a rich and a pleasant Country (a type of that heavenly and better Country that is above) and which was the crown of all, that in his seed all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed, that is, the promised *Messiah* should proceed out of his Loins, who should be a common blessing to mankind, in whom both *Jew* and *Gentile* should be justified and saved, and he by that means become (spiritually) the Father of many Nations. This Covenant was ratified and ensured on God's part by a solemn oath, For when God made promise to *Abraham*, because he could swear by no greater, he swore by himself, saying, Surely blessing I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee. On *Abraham's* part it was sealed with the Sacrament of Circumcision, which God instituted as a peculiar federal rite, to distinguish *Abraham's* posterity from all other people. *Abraham* died in the CLXXV. year of his Age, and was buried in the Sepulchre which himself had purchased of the sons of *Heth*. Contemporary with *Abraham* was his Nephew *Lot*, a just man, but vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked; for dwelling in the midst of an impure and debauched generation, In seeing and hearing he vexed his righteous Soul from day to day with their unlawfull deeds. This endeared him to Heaven, who took a particular care of him, and sent an Angel on purpose to conduct him and his family out of *Sodom*, before he let loose that fatal vengeance that overtook it.

18. *Abraham* being dead, *Isaac* stood up in his stead, the son of his Parents old age, and the fruit of an extraordinary promise. Being delivered from being a sacrifice, he frequented (say the Jews) the School of *Sem*, wherein he was educated in the knowledge of Divine things till his marriage with *Rebecca*. But however that was, he was a good man, we read of his going out to meditate or pray in the field at even-tide, and elsewhere we find him publicly sacrificing and calling upon God. In all his distresses God still appeared to him, animated him against his fears, and encouraged him to go on in the steps of his Father, renewing the same promises to him which he had made to *Abraham*. Nay, so visible and remarkable was the interest which he had in Heaven, that *Abimelech* King of the *Philistines* and his Courtiers thought it their wisest course to confederate with him for this very reason, because they saw certainly that the Lord was with him, and that he was the blessed of the Lord. Religion is the truest interest, and the wisest portion, 'tis the surest protection, and the safest refuge. When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him. *Isaac* dying in the CLXXX year of his life, the Patriarchate devolved upon his son *Jacob*, by virtue of the primogeniture which he had purchased of his brother *Esau*, and which had been confirmed to him by the grant and blessing of his Father (though subtilly procured by the artifice and policy of his Mother) who also told him, that God Almighty would bless and multiply

him

him and his seed after him, and that the blessing of *Abraham* should come upon them. He intirely devoted himself to the fear and service of God, kept up his Worship, and vindicated it from the incroachments of Idolatry, he erected Altars at every turn, and zealously purged his house from those *Tera-phim* or Idols which *Rachel* had brought along with her out of *Laban's* house, either to prevent her Father's enquiring at them which way *Jacob* had made his escape, or to take away from him the instruments of his Idolatry, or possibly that he might have wherewith to propitiate and pacify her father in case he should pursue and overtake them, as *Josephus* thinks, though surely then she would have produced them, when she saw her Father so zealous to retrieve them. He had frequent Visions and Divine condescensions, God appearing to him, and ratifying the Covenant that he had made with *Abraham*, and changing his name from *Jacob* to *Israel*, as a memorial of the mighty prevalency which he had with Heaven. In his latter time he removed his family into *Egypt*, where God had prepared his way by the preferment of his son *Joseph* to be *Vice-roy* and Lord of that vast and fertile Country, advanced to that place of state and grandeur by many strange and unsearchable methods of the Divine Providence. By his two Wives, the Daughters of his Uncle *Laban*, and his two Handmaids he had twelve Sons, who afterwards became founders of the Twelve Tribes of the *Jewish* Nation; to whom upon his death-bed he bequeathed his blessings, consigning their several portions, and the particular fates of every Tribe, among whom that of *Judah* is most remarkable, to whom it was foretold, that the *Messiah* should arise out of that Tribe, that the Regal Power and Political Sovereignty should be annexed to it, and remain in it till the *Messiah* came, at whose coming the Sceptre should depart, and the Law-giver from between his knees: And thus all their own Paraphrases, both *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, and he of *Terusalem* do expound it, that there should not want Kings or Rulers of the house of *Judah*, nor Scribes to teach the Law of that race, וְיִהְיֶה מֶלֶךְ מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד וְכֹהֵן לִמְלֻכָּתָא עַד וְכֹהֵן לִמְלֻכָּתָא until the time that *Messiah* the King shall come, whose the Kingdom is. And so it accordingly came to pass, for at the time of *Christ's* Birth, *Herod*, who was a stranger, had usurped the Throne, defaced the authority of their great *Sanhedrim*, murdered their Senators, devested them of all Judiciary power, and kept them so low, that they had not power left to put a man to death. And unto him shall the gathering of the people be. A prophecy exactly accomplished, when in the first Ages of Christianity the Nations of the World flocked to the standard of *Christ* at the publication of the Gospel. *Jacob* died CXLVII years old, and was buried in *Canaan*, in the Sepulchre of his Fathers: After whose decease his Posterity for some hundreds of years were afflicted under the *Egyptian* yoke. Till God remembering the Covenant he had made with their Fathers, powerfully rescued them from the Iron Furnace, and conducted them through the Wilderness into the Land of Promise, where he framed and ordered their Commonwealth, appointed Laws for the government of the Church, and settled them under a more fixed and certain dispensation.

19. HITHERTO we have surveyed the state of the Church in the constant succession of the Patriarchal Line. But if we step a little farther into the History of those times, we shall find that there were some extraordinary persons without the Pale of that holy Tribe, renowned for the worship of God, and the profession of Religion; among whom two are most considerable. *Melchisedeck* and *Job*. *Melchisedeck* was King of *Salem* in the Land of *Canaan*, and Priest of the most high God. The short account which the Scripture gives of him hath left room for various fancies and conjectures.

tures. The opinion that has most generally obtained is, that *Melchisedeck* was *Sem*, one of the sons of *Noah*, who was of a great Age, and lived above LXX years after *Abraham's* coming into *Canaan*, and might therefore well enough meet him in his triumphant return from his conquest over the Kings of the Plain. But notwithstanding the universal authority which this opinion assumes to it self, it appears not to me with any tolerable probability, partly because *Canaan*, where *Melchisedeck* lived, was none of those Countries which were allotted to *Sem* and to his posterity, and unlikely it is that he should be Prince in a foreign Country: partly, because those things which the Scripture reports concerning *Melchisedeck*, do no ways agree to *Sem*, as that he was without Father and Mother, without genealogie, &c. whereas *Moses* does most exactly describe and record *Sem* and his Family, both as to his Ancestours, and as to his Posterity. That therefore which seems most probable in the case, is, that he was one of the *Reguli*, or petty Kings (whereof there were many) in the Land of *Canaan*, but a pious and devout man, and a worshipper of the true God, as there were many others in those days among the Idolatrous Nations; he being extraordinarily raised up by God from among the *Canaanites*, and brought in without mention of Parents, original or end, without any Predecessour or Successor in his office, that he might be a fitter type of the Royal and Eternal Priesthood of *Christ*. And for any more particular account concerning his person it were folly and rashness over-curiously to enquire after what God seems industriously to have concealed from us. The great character under which the Scripture takes notice of him, is his relation to our Blessed Saviour, who is more than once said to be a Priest, *κατὰ τὸν ὅρον*, after the order, in the same way and manner that *Melchisedeck* was, or (as the Apostle explains himself) after the similitude of *Melchisedeck*. Our Lord was such a Priest as *Melchisedeck* was, there being a nearer similitude and conformity between them, than ever was between any other Priests whatsoever. A subject which St. Paul largely and particularly treats of. Passing by the minuter instances of the parallel, taken from the name of his person, *Melchisedeck*, that is, *King of Righteousness*, and his title to his Kingdom, *King of Salem*, that is, of Peace; we shall observe three things especially wherein he was a type of *Christ*. First, in the peculiar qualification of his person, something being recorded of him uncommon to the rest of men, and that is, that he was without Father, without Mother, and without descent. Not that *Melchisedeck* like *Adam* was immediately created, or in an instant dropt down from Heaven, but that he hath no kindred recorded in the story, which brings him in without any mention of Father or Mother, *ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ τὸν ὅρον*, as *Chrysostome* glosses, we know not what Father or Mother he had: He was (says St. Paul) ἀγενελογητός, without genealogy, without having any pedigree extant upon record, whence the ancient Syriack Version truly expresses the sense of the whole passage thus, *Whose neither Father nor Mother are written*, *مَنْ لَا مَوْلَا وَلَا أَبٌ* among the generations, that is, the genealogies of the ancient Patriarchs. And thus he eminently typified *Christ*, of whom this is really true: He is without Father in respect of his humane nature, begotten onely of a pure Virgin; without Mother, in respect of his Divinity, being begotten of his Father before all Worlds, by an eternal and ineffable generation. Secondly, *Melchisedeck* typified our Saviour in the duration and continuance of his office; for so 'tis said of him, that he was without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a Priest continually.

By

By which we are not to understand that *Melchisedeck* never died, for being a man he was subject to the same common Law of mortality with other men: But the meaning is, that as he is said to be without Father and Mother, because the Scripture speaking of him makes no mention of his Parents, his Genealogy and descent: So he is said to abide a Priest for ever, without any beginning of days, or end of life, because we have no account of any that either preceded, or succeeded him in his office, no mention of the time either when he took it up, or laid it down. And herein how lively and eminent a type of *Christ*, the true *Melchisedeck*, who as to his Divine Nature was without beginning of days from Eternal Ages, and who either in the execution or virtue of his office abides for ever. There is no abolition, no translation of his office, no expectation of any to arise that shall succeed him in it: He was made a Priest, not after the Law of a carnal Commandment, a transient and mutable dispensation, but after the power of an endless life. Thirdly, *Melchisedeck* was a type of *Christ* in his excellency above all other Priests. St. Paul's great design is to evince the preeminence and precedence of *Melchisedeck* above all the Priests of the *Mosaick* ministrature, yea, above *Abraham* himself, the Founder and Father of the *Jewish* Nation, from whom they reckoned it so great an honour to derive themselves. And this the Apostle proves by a double instance. First, that *Abraham*, in whose loins the *Levitical* Priests then were, paid tithes to *Melchisedeck*, when he gave him the tenth of all his spoils, as due to God and his Ministers, thereby confessing himself and his posterity inferior to him. Now consider how great this man was, unto whom even the Patriarch *Abraham* gave the tenth of the spoils. Secondly, that *Melchisedeck* conferred upon *Abraham* a solemn benediction, it being a standing part of the Priests office to bless the people. And this was an undeniable argument of superiority. He whose descent is not counted from them (the legal Priests) received tithes of *Abraham*, and blessed him that had the promises: And without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better. Whereby it evidently appears, that *Melchisedeck* was greater than *Abraham*, and consequently than all the *Levitical* Priests that descended from him. Now herein he admirably prefigured and shadowed out our blessed Saviour, a person peculiarly chosen out by God, sent into the World upon a nobler and a more important errand, owned by more solemn and mighty attestations from Heaven, than ever was any other person; his office incomparably beyond that of the legal Oeconomy, his person greater, his undertaking weightier, his design more sublime and excellent, his oblation more valuable and meritorious, his prayers more prevalent and successful, his office more durable and lasting, than ever any whose business it was to intercede and mediate between God and man.

20. THE other extraordinary person under this Oeconomy is *Joh*, concerning whom two things are to be enquired into, Who he was, and When he lived. For the first, we find him described by his Name, his Country, his Kindred, his Quality, his Religion, and his Sufferings, though in many of them we are left under great uncertainties, and to the satisfaction onely of probable conjectures. For his name, among many conjectures two are especially considerable, though founded upon very different reasons, one, that it is from *יוח* signifying one that grieves or groans, mystically prefiging those grievous miseries and sufferings that afterwards came upon him; the other, more probably, from *יאה*, to love, or to desire, noting him the desire and delight of his Parents, earnestly prayed for, and affectionately embraced with the tenderest endearments. His Country was the land of *Uz*, though where that was, is almost as much disputed.

pisputed, as about the source of *Nilus*: Some will have it *Armenia*, others *Palestine*, or the Land of *Canaan*, and some of the *Jewish* Masters assure us, that בור מורד, *his School*, or place of institution was at *Tiberias*, and nothing more commonly shewed to Travellers than *Job's Well* in the way between *Ramah* and *Jerusalem*; others place it in *Syria*, near *Damascus*, so called from *Uz*, the supposed Founder of that City; others, a little more Northward, at *Apamea*, now called *Hama*, where his house is said to be shewed at this day: Most make it to be part of *Idumæa*, near mount *Seir*, or else *Arabia* the Desert (probably it was in the confines of both) this part of *Arabia* being nearest to the *Sabæans* and *Chaldeans*, who invaded him, and most applicable to his dwelling among the *Sons of the East*, to the situation of his Friends who came to visit him, and best corresponding with those frequent *Arabisms* discernable both in the Language and Discourses of *Job* and his Friends; not to say that this Country produced persons exceedingly addicted to Learning and Contemplation, and the studies of natural Philosophy, whence the wife men who came out of the *East* to worship *Christ* are thought by many to have been *Arabians*. For his Kindred and his Friends, we find four taken notice of, who came to visit him in his distress; *Eliphaz the Temanite*, the son probably of *Teman*, and grand-child of *Esau* by his eldest son *Eliphaz*, the Country deriving its name *Teman* from his Father, and was situate in *Idumæa* in the borders of the Desert *Arabia*: *Bildad the Shuhite*, a descendant in all likelihood of *Shuah*, one of the sons of *Abraham* by his wife *Returah*, whose feat was in this part of *Arabia*: *Zophar the Naamathite*, a Country lying near those parts: And *Elihu the Buzite*, of the off-spring of *Buz* the son of *Nahor*, and so nearly related to *Job* himself. He was the son of *Barachel*, of the kindred of *Ram*, who was the head of the Family, and his habitation was in the parts of *Arabia* the Desert near *Euphrates*, or at least in the Southern part of *Mesopotamia* bordering upon it. As for *Job* himself, he is made by some a *Canaanite*, of the posterity of *Cham*; by others to descend from *Sem* by his son *Amram*, whose eldest son's name was *Uz*; by most from *Esau*, the Father of the *Idumæan* Nations; but most probably either from *Nahor*, *Abraham's* brother, whose sons were *Huz*, *Buz*, *Chesed*, &c. or from *Abraham* himself by some of the sons which he had by his wife *Returah*, whereby an account is most probably given, how *Job* came to be imbued with those seeds of Piety and true Religion, for which he was so eminently remarkable, as deriving them from those religious principles and instructions which *Abraham* and *Nahor* had bequeathed to their posterity. His quality and the circumstances of his external state were very considerable, a man rich and honourable; *His substance was seven thousand Sheep, and three thousand Camels, and five hundred yoke of Oxen, and five hundred She-asses, and a very great household, so that he was the greatest of all the men of the East*; himself largely describes the great honour and prosperity of his fortunes, that he walked his steps in Butter, and the Rock poured out rivers of Oil; when he went out to the gate through the City, and prepared his seat in the street, the young men saw him, and bid themselves, the aged arose and stood up, the Princes refrained talking, and laid their hand on their mouth, &c. He delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him, the blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, &c. He brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of their teeth, &c. Indeed to great his state and dignity, that it has led many into a persuasion, that he was King of *Idumæa*, a powerful and mighty Prince; a fancy that has received no small encouragement from the common but groundless confounding of *Job* with *Jobab* King of *Edom*, of the

race

race of *Esau*. For the story gives no intimation of any such royal dignity, to which *Job* was advanced, but always speaks of him as a private person, though exceeding wealthy and prosperous, and thereby probably of extraordinary power and estimation in his Country. Nay, that he might not want fit Companions in his Regal capacity, three of his friends are made Kings as well as he, the LXX. Translators themselves styling *Eliphaz King of the Temanites*, *Bildad of the Suchites*, and *Zophar King of the Minæans*, though with as little, probably less, reason than the former.

21. BUT whatever his condition was, we are sure he was no less eminent for Piety and Religion, he was a man perfect and upright, one that feared God, and eschewed evil. Though living among the Idolatrous Gentiles, he kept up the true and sincere worship of God, daily offered up Sacrifices and Prayers to Heaven, piously instructed his Children and Family, lived in an entire dependence upon the Divine Providence, in all his discourses expressed the highest and most honourable sentiments and thoughts of God, and such as best became the Majesty of an Infinite Being; in all transactions he was just and righteous, compassionate and charitable, modest and humble, indeed by the character of God himself, who knew him best, *There was none like him in the Earth, a perfect and an upright man, fearing God, and eschewing evil*: his mind was submissive and compliant, his patience generous and unshaken, great even to a Proverb, *You have heard of the Patience of Job*. And enough he had to try it to the utmost, if we consider what sufferings he underwent; those evils which are wont but singly to seize upon other men, all centred and met in him. Plundered in his Estate by the *Sabæan* and *Chaldean* Free-booters (whose standing livelihood were spoils and robberies) and not an Ox or Ass left of all the Herd, not a sheep or a Lamb either for Food or Sacrifice: Undone in his Posterity, his Seven Sons and Three Daughters being all slain at once by the fall of one House: blasted in his credit and good name, and that by his nearest friends, who traduced and challenged him for a dissembler and an hypocrite. Ruined in his health, being smitten with sore boils from the crown of the Head to the sole of the Foot, till his Body became a very Hospital of Diseases: tormented in his mind with sad and uncomfortable reflexions, *The arrows of the Almighty being shot within him, the poison whereof drank up his spirit, the terrors of God setting themselves in array against him*. All which were aggravated and set home by *Satan*, the grand Engineer of all those torments, and all this continuing for at least Twelve Months (say the Jews) probably for a much longer time; and yet endured with great courage and fortitude of mind, till God put a period to this tedious Trial, and crowned his sufferings with an ample restitution. We have seen who this excellent Person was, we are next to enquire when he lived. And here we meet with almost an infinite variety of Opinions, some making him contemporary with *Abraham*, others with *Jacob*, which had he been, we should doubtless have found some mention of him in their story, as well as we do of *Melchisedeck*: others again refer him to the time of the Law given at Mount *Sinai*, and the *Israelites* travels in the Wilderness; others to the times of the Judges after the settlement of the *Israelites* in the Land of Promise; nay, some to the reign of *David* and *Solomon*; and I know not whether the Reader will not smile at the fancy of the *Turkish Chronologists*, who make *Job* Major-domo to *Solomon*, as they make *Alexander the Great*, the General of his Army. Others go farther, and place him among those that were carried away in the *Babylonish* Captivity, yea in the time of *Abasuerus*, and make his fair Daughters to be of the number of those beautiful young Virgins that were sought-for for

c

the

Vide Maimon.
Mor. Nevuch.
part. 3. cap. 22.
p. 395.

Aug. Busbeque.
de Legat. Turc.
Epist. 1. p. 94.

the King. Follies that need no confutation. 'Tis certain that he was elder than *Moses*, his Kindred and Family, his way of sacrificing, the Idolatry rise in his time, evidently placing him before that Age; besides that there are not the least foot-steps in all his Book of any of the great things done for the *Israelites* deliverance, which we can hardly suppose should have been omitted, being examples so fresh in memory, and so apposite to the design of that Book. Most probable therefore it is, that he lived about the time of the *Israelitish* Captivity in *Egypt*, though whether, as some *Jews* will have it, born that very Year that *Jacob* came down into *Egypt*, and dying that Year that they went out of *Egypt*, I dare not peremptorily affirm. And this no question is the reason why we find nothing concerning him in the Writings of *Moses*, the History of those Times being crowded up in a very little room, little being recorded even of the *Israelites* themselves for near Two Hundred Years, more than in general that they were heavily oppressed under the *Egyptian* Yoke. More concerning this great and good Man, and the things relating to him, if the Reader desire to know, he may among others consult the elaborate Exercitations of the younger *Spanhemius* in his *Historia Jobi*, where the largest curiosity may find enough to satisfy it.

22. AND now for a Conclusion to this *Oeconomy*, if we reflect a little upon the state of things under this period of the World, we shall find that the Religion of those early Ages was plain and simple, unforced and natural, and highly agreeable to the common dictates and notions of Mens minds. They were not educated under any foreign Institutions, nor conducted by a Body of numerous Laws and written Constitutions, but were as the safest and most ancient Rule. By which means (as one of the Ancients observes) *ἐλλήθεον καὶ ἀνεμμένον διπλοῦς κατὰ θεὸν τρόπον, εἶπε μὲν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ νόμον κεινομένοις*, they maintained a free and uninterrupted course of Religion, conducting their lives according to the rules of Nature, so that having purged their minds from lust and passion, and attained to the true knowledge of God, they had no need of external and written Laws. Their Creed was short and perspicuous, their notions of God great and venerable, their devotion and piety real and substantial, their worship grave and serious, and such as became the grandeur and majesty of the Divine being, their Rites and Ceremonies few and proper, their obedience prompt and sincere, and indeed the whole conduct of their conversation discovering it self in the most essential and important duties of the humane life. According to this standard it was that our blessed Saviour mainly designed to reform Religion in his most excellent Institutions, to retrieve the piety and purity, the innocence and simplicity of those first and more uncorrupted Ages of the World, to improve the Laws of Nature, and to reduce mankind from ritual observances to natural and moral duties, as the most vital and essential parts of Religion, and was therefore pleased to charge Christianity with no more than two positive Institutions, *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, that Men might learn, that the main of Religion lies not in such things as these. Hence *Eusebius* undertakes at large to prove the faith and manners of the Holy Patriarchs, who lived before the times of *Moses*, and the belief and practice of *Christians* to be *ἑνα καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν*, one and the same. Which he does not onely assert and make good in general, but deduce from particular instances, the examples of *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Melchisedeck*, *Job*, &c. whom he expressly proves to have believed and lived *ἀρίστως χριστιανικῶς*, altogether

Philo, lib. de Abrab. pag. 350.

Euseb. Preparat. Evangel. lib. 7. c. 6. pag. 304.

Demonstrat. Evangel. lib. 1. cap. 5. & 6. p. 9. 10. &c. & luc. 11. p. 11.

altogether after the manner of *Christians*: Nay, that they had the name also as well as the thing, *ὡς καὶ τὸ Χριστὸν προνοήσας ἡδὺν ἀμείνων ὁκονώμενος*, as he shews from that place (which he proves to be meant of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*) *μὴ ἀπὸθεῖ τῶν Χριστῶν μὴ, Touch not my Christians, mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm.* And in short, that as they had the same common Religion, so they had the common blessing and reward.

c 2

SECT.

S E C T. II.

Of the M O S A I C A L Dispensation.

Moses the Minister of this Oeconomy. His miraculous preservation. His learned and noble education. The Divine temper of his mind. His conducting the Israelites out of Egypt. Their arrival at Mount Sinai. The Law given, and how. Moral Laws; the Decalogue, whether a perfect Compendium of the Moral Law. The Ceremonial Laws, what. Reduced to their proper heads. Such as concerned the matter of their Worship. Sacrifices, and the several kinds of them. Circumcision. The Passover, and its typical relation. The Place of publick Worship. The Tabernacle and Temple, and the several parts of them, and their typical aspects considered. Their stated times and feasts, weekly, monthly, annual. The Sabbatical Year. The Year of Jubilee. Laws concerning the Persons ministering; Priests, Levites, the High-priest, how a type of Christ. The Design of the Ceremonial Law, and its abolition. The Judicial Laws, what. The Mosaick Law, how divided by the Jews into affirmative and negative Precepts, and why. The several ways of Divine revelation. Urim and Thummim, what, and the manner of its giving. Answers. Bath-Col, whether any such way of revelation among the Jews. Revelation by Dreams. By Visions. The Revelation of the Holy Spirit, what. Moses, his way of Prophecy wherein exceeding the rest. The pacate way of the spirit of prophecy. This spirit when it ceased in the Jewish Church. The state of the Church under this Dispensation briefly noted. From the giving of the Law till Samuel. From Samuel till Solomon. Its condition under the succeeding Kings till the Captivity. From thence till the coming of Christ. The state of the Jewish Church in the time of Christ more particularly considered. The profanations of the Temple. The Corruption of their Worship. The abuse of the Priesthood. The depravation of the Law by false glosses. Their Oral and unwritten Law. Its original and succession according to the mind of the Jews. Their unreasonable and blasphemous preferring it above the written Law. Their religious observing the Traditions of the Elders. The Vow of Corban, what. The superseding Moral Duties by it. The Sects in the Jewish Church. The Pharisees, their denomination, rise, temper and principles. Sadducees, their impious Principles and evil lives. The Essenes, their original, opinions and way of life. The Herodians, who. The Samaritans. Karraeans. The Sect of the Zealots. The Roman Tyranny over the Jews.

1. **T**HE Church, which had hitherto lain dispersed in private Families, and had often been reduced to an inconsiderable number, being now multiplied into a great and a populous Nation, God was pleased to enter into Covenant, not any longer with particular Persons, but with the Body of the People, and to govern the Church by more certain and regular ways and methods, than it had hitherto been. This Dispensation began with the delivery of the Law, and continued till the final period of the Jewish state, consisting onely of meats and drinks, and divers washing, and carnal Ordinances, imposed on them untill the time of reformation. In

the survey whereof we shall chiefly consider what Laws were given for the Government of the Church, by what methods of Revelation God communicated his mind and will to them, and what was the state of the Church, especially towards the conclusion of this Oeconomy.

2. THE great Minister of this dispensation was *Moses* the Son of *Amram*, of the House of *Levi*, a Person, whose signal preservation when but an Infant prefiged him to be born for great and generous undertakings. *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt* desirous to suppress the growing numbers of the *Jewish* Nation had afflicted and kept them under with all the rigorous severities of tyranny and oppression. But this not taking its effect, he made a Law that all *Hebrew* Male-children should be drowned as soon as born, knowing well enough how to kill the root, if he could keep any more Branches from springing up. But the wisdom of Heaven defeated his crafty and barbarous designs. Among others that were born at that time was *Moses* a goodly Child, and whom his Mother was infinitely desirous to preserve: but having concealed him, till the faving of his might endanger the losing her own life, her affection suggested to her this little stratagem: she prepared an Ark made of Paper-reeds, and pitched within, and so putting him a-board this little Vessel, threw him into the River *Nilus*, committing him to the mercy of the waves, and the conduct of the Divine Providence. God, who wisely orders all events, had so disposed things, that *Pharaoh's* daughter (whose name, say the *Jews*, was *Bithia*, *Thermuth* says *Josephus*, say the *Arabians*, *Sibboun*) being troubled with a distemper that would not endure the hot Baths, was come down at this time to wash in the *Nile*, where the cries of the tender Babe soon reached her ears. She commanded the Ark to be brought a-shore, which was no sooner opened, but the mournfull oratory of the weeping Infant sensibly struck her with compassionate resentments: And the *Jews* add, that she no sooner touched the Babe, but she was immediately healed; and cried out that he was a holy Child, and that she would save his life; for which (say they) she obtained the favour to be brought under the wings of the Divine Majesty, and to be called the daughter of God. His Sister *Miriam*, who had all this while beheld the scene afar off, officiously proffered her service to the Princess to call an *Hebrew* Nurse, and accordingly went and brought his Mother. To her care he was committed with a charge to look tenderly to him, and the promise of a reward. But the hopes of that could add but little, where nature was so much concerned. Home goes the Mother joyfull and proud of her own pledge, and the royal charge, carefully providing for his tender years. His infant-state being pass'd, he was restored to the Princess, who adopted him for her own son, bred him up at Court, where he was polished with all the arts of a noble and ingenious education, instructed in the modes of civility and behaviour, in the methods of policy and government, Learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, whose renown for wisdom is not only once and again taken notice of in holy Writ, but their admirable skill in all liberal Sciences, Natural, Moral and Divine, beyond the rate and proportion of other Nations, is sufficiently celebrated by foreign Writers. To these accomplishments God was pleased to add a Divine temper of mind, a great zeal for God, not able to endure any thing that seemed to clash with interests of the Divine honour and glory; a mighty courage and resolution in God's service, whose edge was not to be taken off either by threats or charms; He was not afraid of the King's commandment, nor feared the wrath of the King, for he endured as seeing him that is invisible. His contempt of the World was great and admirable, sleighting the honours of *Pharaoh's* Court, and the fair probabilities

Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 5. p. 56.

R. Eliez. c. 48. apud Hotting. Smeg. Orient. c. 8. p. 402.

Heb. 11. 27.

lities of the Crown, the treasures and pleasures of that rich, soft and luxurious Country out of a firm belief of the invisible rewards of another World; He refused to be called the son of *Pharaoh's* daughter, chusing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in *Egypt*; for he had respect unto the recompense of reward. *Josephus* relates, that when but a child he was presented by the Princess to her Father, as one whom he had adopted for her son, and designed for his successour in the Kingdom, the King taking him up into his arms, put his Crown upon his head, which the child immediately pull'd off again, and throwing it upon the ground, trampled it under his feet. An action which however looked upon by some Courtiers then present, as ominous to the Kingdom, did however evidently preface his generous contempt of the grandeur and honours of the Court, and those plausible advantages of Sovereignty that were offered to him. His patience was insuperable, not tired out with abuses and disappointments of the King of *Egypt*, with the hardships and troubles of the Wilderness, and which was beyond all, with the croils and vexatious humours of a stubborn and unquiet generation. He was of a most calm and treatable disposition, his spirit not easily ruffled with passion; he who in the cause of God and Religion could be bold and fierce as a Lion, was in his own patient as a Lamb, God himself having given this character of him, That he was the meekest man upon the Earth.

3. THIS great personage thus excellently qualified, God made choice of him to be the Commander and ConduCtour of the *Jewish* Nation, and his Embassadour to the King of *Egypt*, to demand the enfranchisement of his people, and free liberty to go serve and worship the God of their Fathers. And that he really had an immediate commission from Heaven, God was pleased to furnish him with extraordinary Credentials, and to seal his Commission with a power of working Miracles beyond all the Arts of Magic, and those tricks for which the *Egyptian* Sorcerers were so famous in the World. But *Pharaoh* unwilling to part with such usefull Vassals, and having oppressed them beyond possibility of reconciliation, would not hearken to the proposal, but sometimes downright rejected it, otherwhiles fought by subtle and plausible pretences to evade and shift it off: till by many astonishing Miracles and severe Judgments God extorted at length a grant from him. Under the conduct of *Moses* they set forwards after at least two hundred years servitude under the *Egyptian* yoke; and though *Pharaoh* sensible of his errour, with a great Army pursued them, either to cut them off, or bring them back, God made way for them through the midst of the Sea, the waters becoming like a wall of Brass on each side of them, till being all passed to the other shore, those invisible cords which had hitherto tied up that liquid Element, bursting in sunder, the waters returned and overwhelmed their enemies that pursued them. Thus God by the same stroke can protect his friends, and punish his enemies. Nor did the Divine Providence here take its leave of them, but became their constant guard and defence in all their journeys, waiting upon them through their several stations in the wilderness; the most memorable whereof was that at Mount *Sinai* in *Arabia*: The place where God delivered them the pattern in the Mount, according to which the form both of their Church and State was to be framed and modelled. In order hereunto *Moses* is called up into the Mount, where by Fasting and Prayer he converted with Hea-

ven,

ven, and received the body of their Laws. Three days the people were by a pious and devout care to sanctify and prepare themselves for the promulgation of the Law, they might not come near their Wives, were commanded to wash their clothes, as an emblem and representation of that cleansing of the heart, and that inward purity of mind, wherewith they were to entertain the Divine will. On the third day in the morning God descended from Heaven with great appearances of Majesty and terror, with *thunders and lightnings*, with *black clouds and tempests*, with *shouts and the loud noise of a trumpet* (which trumpet, say the Jews, was made of the horn of that Ram that was offered in the room of Isaac) with fire and smoke on the top of the Mount, ascending up like the smoke of a Furnace; the Mountain it self greatly quaking, the people trembling; nay, so terrible was the sight, that Moses (who had so frequently, so familiarly conversed with God) said, *I exceedingly fear and quake*. All which pompous trains of terror and magnificence God made use of at this time, to excite the more solemn attention to his Laws, and to beget a greater reverence and veneration for them in the minds of the people, and to let them see how able he was to call them to account, and by the severest penalties to vindicate the violation of his Law.

4. THE Code and Digest of those Laws, which God now gave to the Jews as the terms of that National Covenant that he made with them, consisted of three sorts of Precepts, *Moral, Ecclesiastical and Political*; which the Jews will have intimated by those three words, that so frequently occur in the writings of Moses, *Laws, Statutes and Judgments*. By מוסרי, *Laws*, they understand the Moral Law, the notices of good and evil naturally implanted in mens minds: By חקים, or *Statutes*, Ceremonial Precepts, instituted by God with peculiar reference to his Church. By משפטים, or *Judgments*, Political Laws concerning Justice and Equity, the order of humane society, and the prudent and peaceable managery of the Commonwealth. The Moral Laws inserted into this Code are those contained in the Decalogue, עשרת הדברות, as they are called, the *ten words* that were written upon the two Tables of Stone. There were nothing else but a summary Comprehension of the great Laws of Nature, engraven at first upon the minds of all men in the World; the most material part whereof was now consigned to writing, and incorporated into the body of the Jewish Law. I know the Decalogue is generally taken to be a complete System of all natural Laws: But whoever impartially considers the matter, will find that there are many instances of duty so far from being commanded in it, that they are not reducible to any part of it, unless hook'd in by subtleties of wit, and drawn thither by forc'd and unnatural inferences. What provision, except in one case or two, do any of those Commandments make against neglects of duty? Where do they oblige us to do good to others, to love, assist, relieve our enemies? Gratitude and thankfulness to benefactors is one of the prime and essential Laws of Nature, and yet no-where that I know of (unless we will have it implied in the Preface to the Law) commanded or intimated in the Decalogue: with many other cases, which tis naturally evident are our duty, whereof no footsteps are to be seen in this Compendium, unless hunted out by nice and sagacious reasonings, and made out by a long train of consequences, never originally intended in the Commandment, and which not one in a thousand are capable of deducing from it. It is probable therefore that God reduc'd only so many of the Laws of Nature into writing, as were proper to the present state and capacities of that people to whom they were given, super-

adding

adding some, and explaining others by the Preaching and Ministry of the Prophets, who in their several Ages endeavoured to bring men out of the Shades and Thickets, into clear light and Noon-day, by clearing up mens obligations to those natural and essential duties, in the practice whereof humane nature was to be advanced unto its just accomplishment and perfection. Hence it was that our Lord, who came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill and perfect it, has explained the obligations of the natural Law more fully and clearly, more plainly and intelligibly, rendered our duty more fixed and certain, and extended many instances of obedience to higher measures, to a greater exactness and perfection, than ever they were understood to have before. Thus he commands a free and universal charity, not only that we love our friends and relations, but that we love our enemies, *Bless them that curse us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despitefully use and persecute us*: He hath forbidden malice and revenge with more plainness and smartness; obliged us to live not only according to the measures of sobriety, but extended it to self-denial, and taking up the Cross, and laying down our lives, whenever the honour of God and the interest of Religion calls for it; he not only commands us to do no wrong, but when we have done it, to make restitution; not only to retrench our irregular appetites, but to cut off our right hand, and pluck out our right eye, and cast them from us, that is, mortify and offer violence to those vicious inclinations, which are as dear to us, as the most useful and necessary parts and members of our body. Besides all this, had God intended the Decalogue for a perfect summary of the Laws of Nature, we cannot suppose that he would have taken any but such into the collection, whereas the Fourth Commandment concerning the Seventh day is unquestionably Typical and Ceremonial; and has nothing more of a Natural and Eternal obligation in it, than that God should be served and honoured both with publick and private worship, which cannot be done without some portions of time set apart for it: but that this should be done just at such a time, and by such proportions, upon the Seventh rather than the Sixth or the Eighth day, is no part of a natural Religion. And indeed the reasons and arguments that are annexed to it, to enforce the observance of it, clearly shew that it is of a later date, and of another nature than the rest of those Precepts in whose company we find it, though it seems at first sight to pass without any peculiar note of discrimination from the rest. As for the rest, they are Laws of eternal righteousness, and did not derive their value and authority from the Divine sanction which God here gave them at Mount Sinai, but from their own moral and internal goodness and equity, being founded in the nature of things, and the essential and unchangeable differences of good and evil. By which means they always were, always will be obligatory and indispensable, being as Eternal and Immutable as the nature of God himself.

5. THE second sort of Laws were Ceremonial, Divine Constitutions concerning Ritual observances, and matters of Ecclesiastical cognizance and relation, and were instituted for a double end, partly for the more orderly government of the Church, and the more decent administration of the worship of God; partly that they might be types and figures of the Evangelical state, *shadows of good things to come*, visible and symbolical representations of the Messiah, and those great blessings and privileges which he was to introduce into the World; which doubtless was the reason why God was so infinitely punctual and particular in his directions about these matters, giving orders about the minutest circumstances of the Temple-ministration, because every part of it had a glance at a future and better state

of

Heb. 12. 21.

Deut. 4. 13.

Exod. 29.

of things. The number of them was great, and the observation burthensome, the whole Nation groaning under the fervility of that yoke. They were such as principally related to God's worship, and may be reduced either to such as concerned the worship itself, or the circumstances of time, place and persons that did attend it. Their worship consisted chiefly in three things, Prayers, Sacrifices and Sacraments. *Prayers* were daily put up together with their Offerings, and though we have very few Constitutions concerning them, yet the constant practice of that Church, and the particular forms of Prayer yet extant in their writings, are a sufficient evidence. *Sacrifices* were the constant and more solemn part of their publick worship; yea, they had their חֲבִירֵי עֹלָם, *their continual burnt-offering*, a Lamb offered Morning and Evening with a Measure of Flower, Oil and Wine, the charge whereof was defrayed out of the Treasury of the Temple. The rest of their Sacrifices may be considered either as they were *Expiatory* or *Eucharistical*. Expiatory were those that were offered as an atonement for the sins of the people, to pacify the Divine displeasure, and to procure his pardon, which they did by virtue of their Typical relation to that great Sacrifice which the Son of God was in the fulness of time to offer up for the sins of the World. They were either of a more general relation, for the expiation of sin in general, whole burnt-offerings, which were indirectly (the skin and the entrails only excepted) burnt to ashes; or of a more private and particular concernment, designed for the redemption of particular offences, whereof there were two sorts: זִבְחֵי עֹלָם, *or the sin offering*, for involuntary offences committed through error or ignorance, which according to the condition and capacity of the Person were either for the *Priest*, or the *Prince*, or the whole Body of the *People*, or a *private Person*. The other זִבְחֵי חַטָּאת, *or the trespass-offering*, for sins done wittingly, studied and premeditated transgressions, and which the Man could not pretend to be the effects of surprize or chance. *Eucharistical* Sacrifices were testimonies of gratitude to God for mercies received, whereof three sorts especially. 1. זִבְחֵי מִנְחָה, *or the meat-offering*, made up of things without life, oil, fine flower, incense, &c. which the worshipper offered as a thanfull return for the daily preservation and provisions of life, and therefore it consisted only of the fruits of the ground. 2. זִבְחֵי שְׁלָמִים, *or the peace offering*; this was done either out of a grateful sense of some blessing conferred, or as a voluntary offering to which the Person had obliged himself by vow in expectation of some safety or deliverance which he had prayed for. In this Sacrifice God had his part, the fat which was the only part of it burnt by fire, the Priest his, as an instrument of the ministrations, the Offerer his, that he might have wherewith to rejoice before the Lord. 3. זִבְחֵי קָדִישׁ, *a thanksgiving-offering*, or a Sacrifice of praise, it was a mixt kind of Sacrifice, consisting of living Creatures, and the fruits of the Earth, which they might offer at their own will, but it must be eaten the same day, and none of it left until the morrow. What other provisions we meet with concerning ceremonial uncleanneses, first-fruits, the first-born, tenths, &c. are conveniently reducible to some of these heads which we have already mentioned. The last part of their worship concerned their *Sacraments*, which were two, *Circumcision* and the *Paschal Supper*. Circumcision was the federal Rite annexed by God as a Seal to the Covenant which he made with Abraham and his Posterity, and accordingly renewed and taken into the Body of the *Mosaicall* constitutions. It was to be administered the eighth day, which the *Jews* understand not of so many days complete, but the current time, six full days, and part of the other. In the room of this, *Baptism* succeeds in the *Christian* Church.

Church. The *Pasover*, which was the eating of the *Paschal Lamb*, was instituted as an Annual memorial of their signal and miraculous deliverance out of *Egypt*, and as a typical representation of our spiritual Redemption by *Christ* from the bondage of sin and that Hell that follows it. It was to be celebrated with a Male-lamb without blemish taken out of the *Flock*, to note the *Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the World*, who was taken from among men, a Lamb without blemish and without spot, holy, harmless, and separate from sinners. The Door-posts of the House were to be sprinkled with the blood of the Lamb, to signify our security from the Divine vengeance by the blood of sprinkling. The Lamb was to be roasted and eaten whole, typifying the great sufferings of our blessed Saviour, who was to pass through the fire of Divine wrath, and to be wholly embrac'd and entertain'd by us in all his Offices, as King, Priest and Prophet. None but those that were clean and circumcised might eat of it, to shew that only true believers, holy and good men, can be partakers of *Christ* and the merits of his Death; It was to be eaten standing, with the *Loins girt*, and their staff in their hand, to put them in mind what haste they made out of the house of bondage, and to intimate to us what present diligence we should use to get from under the empire and tyranny of sin and *Satan*, under the conduct and assistance of the *Captain of our Salvation*. The eating of it was to be mixed with bitter herbs, partly as a memorial of that bitter servitude which they underwent in the Land of *Egypt*, partly as a type of that repentance and bearing of the cross (duties difficult and unpleasant) which all true Christians must undergo. Lastly, It was to be eaten with unleavened Bread, all manner of leaven being at that time to be banished out of their Houses with the most critical diligence and curiosity, to represent what infinite care we should take to cleanse and purify our hearts, to purge out the old leaven, that we may be a new lump: and that since *Christ* our *Pasover* is sacrificed for us, therefore we should keep the feast (the Festival commemoration of his Death) not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. 1 Cor. 5: 7, 8.

6. THE Places of their Publick Worship were either the *Tabernacle* made in the Wilderness, or the *Temple* built by *Solomon*, between which in the main there was no other difference, than that the *Tabernacle* was an ambulatory Temple, as the *Temple* was a standing *Tabernacle*, together with all the rich costly Furniture that was in them. The parts of it were three, the *Holiest of all*, whither none entred but the High-Priest, and that but once a Year, this was a type of Heaven; the *holy place*, whither the Priests entred every Day to perform their Sacred Ministrations; and the *outward Court*, whither the People came to offer up their Prayers and Sacrifices: In the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or *Holiest of all*, there was the *Golden Censer*, typifying the Merits and Intercession of *Christ*; the *Ark of the Covenant*, as a representation of him who is the *Mediator* of the Covenant between God and man; the *Golden Pot of Manna*, a type of our Lord, the true *Manna*, the Bread that came down from Heaven; the *Rod of Aaron* that budded, signifying the Branch of the Root of *Jesse*, that though our Saviour's Family should be reduced to a state of so much meanness and obscurity, as to appear but like the trunk or stump of a Tree, yet there should come forth a rod out of the stem of *Jesse*, and a branch grow out of his roots, which should stand for an Ensign of the People, and in him should the Gentiles trust. And within the Ark were the two *Tables of the Covenant*, to denote him, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and who is the end and perfection of the Law: Over it were the *Cherubims* of glory shadowing the Mercy-seat, who looking

Isa. 11. 1, 2, 10.
Rom. 15. 12.

looking towards each other, and both to the Mercy-seat denoted the two Testaments, or Dispensations of the Church, which admirably agree, and both direct to *Christ* the Mediator of the Covenant. The *Propitiatory*, or Mercy-seat, was the Golden covering to the Ark, where God veiling his Majesty was wont to manifest his Presence, to give Answers, and shew Himself reconciled to the People, herein eminently prefiguring our Blessed Saviour, who interposes between us and the Divine Majesty, *whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation, through faith in his blood for the remission of sins*: so that now we may come boldly to the Throne of Grace, and find mercy to help us. Within in the Sanctuary, or the Holy Place, was the Golden Candlestick with Seven Branches, representing *Christ*, who is the *Light of the World*, and who *enlightens every one that comes into the World*, and before whose Throne there are said to be *seven Lamps of Fire, which are the seven Spirits of God*: The Table, compassed about with a Border and a Crown of Gold, denoting the Ministry, and the Shew-bread set upon it, shadowing out *Christ*, the *Bread of Life*, who by the Ministry of the Gospel is offered to the World: here also was the *Golden Altar of Incense*, whereon they burnt the sweet Perfumes Morning and Evening, to signify to us that our Lord is the true Altar, by whom all our Prayers and Services are rendered the odour of a *sweet smell acceptable unto God*; to this the *Psalmist* refers, *Let my Prayer be set forth before thee as Incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the Evening Sacrifice*. The third part of the Tabernacle, as also of the Temple, was the *Court of Israel*, wherein stood the *Brazen Altar*, upon which the Holy Fire was continually preferred, by which the Sacrifices were consumed, one of the Five great Privileges that were wanting in the second Temple. Here was the *Brazen Laver*, with its Basis, made of the brazen Looking-glasses of the Women that assembled at the Door of the Tabernacle, wherein the Priests washed their Hands and their Feet, when going into the Sanctuary, and both they and the People, when about to offer Sacrifice; to teach us to purify our hearts and to *cleanse our selves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit*, especially when we approach to offer up our services to Heaven; hereunto *David* alludes, *I will wash mine hands in innocency, so will I compass thine Altar, O Lord*. *Solomon* in building the Temple made an addition of a fourth Court, the *Court of the Gentiles*, wherinto the unclean *Jews* and *Gentiles* might enter, and in this was the *Corban*, or Treasury, and it is sometimes in the New Testament called *the Temple*. To these Laws concerning the Place of Worship we may reduce those that relate to the holy Vessels and Utensils of the Tabernacle and the Temple, Candlesticks, Snuffers, Dishes, &c. which also had their proper mysteries and significations.

7. THE stated times and seasons of their Worship are next to be considered, and they were either Daily, Weekly, Monthly, or Yearly. Their *Daily* worship was at the time of the Morning and the Evening Sacrifice; their *Weekly* solemnity was the *Sabbath*, which was to be kept with all imaginable care and strictness, they being commanded to rest in it from all servile labours, and to attend the Duties and Offices of Religion, a type of that *rest that remains for the People of God*. Their *monthly* Festivals were the *New-moons*, wherein they were to blow the Trumpets over their Sacrifices and Oblations, and to observe them with great expressions of joy and triumph, in a thankfull remembrance of the blessings which all that Month had been conferred upon them. Their *Annual* Solemnities were either ordinary or extraordinary; *Ordinary* were those that returned every Year, whereof the first was the *Passover*, to be celebrated upon the Fourteenth day of the first Month, as a Memorial of their great deliverance out of *Egypt*:

The

The second, *Pentecost*, called also the *Fest of Weeks*, because just seven Weeks, or fifty days after the *Passover*: Instituted it was partly in memory of the promulgation of the Law, published at Mount *Sinai* fifty days after their celebration of the *Passover* in *Egypt*, partly as a thanksgiving for the in-gathering of their Harvest, which usually was fully brought in about this time. The third was the *Fest of Tabernacles*, kept upon the Fifteenth day of the Seventh Month for the space of Seven days together; at which time they dwelt in Booths made of green Boughs, as a memento of that time when they sojourn'd in Tents and Tabernacles in the Wilderness, and a sensible demonstration of the transitory duration of the present life, that the *Earthly house of our Tabernacle must be dissolved*, and that therefore we should secure a building of God, *an house not made with hands, Eternal in the Heavens*. These were the three great Solemnities wherein all the Males were obliged to appear at *Jerusalem*, and to present themselves and their offerings in testimony of their homage and devotion unto God: Besides which they had some of lesser moment, such as their *Fest of Trumpets*, and that of *Expiation*. The *Annual Festivals extraordinary* were those that recurr'd but once in the periodical return of several years; such was the *Sabbatical year*, wherein the land was to lye fallow, and to rest from ploughing and sowing, and all manner of cultivation; and this was to be every seventh year, typifying the *Eternal Sabbathism* in Heaven, where good men shall rest from their labours, and their works shall follow them. But the great *Sabbatical year* of all was that of *Jubilee*, which returned at the end of seven ordinary *Sabbatical* years, that is, every fiftieth year, the approach whereof was proclaimed by the sound of Trumpets; in it servants were released, all debts discharged, and mortgaged Estates reverted to their proper heirs. And how evidently did this shadow out the state of the Gospel, and our Lord's being sent to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, that they might lift up their heads, because their redemption drew nigh.

Isa. 61. 1, 2.
Luk. 4. 18.

8. LASTLY, They had Laws concerning the persons by whom their publick worship was administred; and here there was appointed an High-priest, who had his proper offices and rules of duty, his peculiar attire and consecration; ordinary Priests, whose business was to instruct the people, to pray and offer sacrifice, to bless the Congregation and judge in cases of *Leprosy*, and such like; at their Ordination, they were to be chosen before all the people, to be sprinkled with the water of Expiation, their Hair shaved, and their Bodies washed, afterwards anointed, and sacrifices to be offered for them, and then they might enter upon their Priestly ministrations. Next to these were the *Levites*, who were to assist the Priests in preparing the Sacrifices, to bear the Tabernacle (while it lasted) and lay up its Vessels and Utensils, to purify and cleanse the Vessels and Instruments, to guard the Courts and Chambers of the Temple, to watch weekly in the Temple by their turns, to sing and celebrate the praises of God with Hymns and Musical Instruments, and to join with the Priests in judging and determining Ceremonial causes; they were not to be taken into the full discharge of their Function till the thirtieth, nor to be kept at it beyond the fiftieth year of their age; God mercifully thinking it fit to give them then a *Writ of Ease*, whose strength might be presumed sufficiently impaired by truckling for so many years under such toilsome and laborious ministrations. Though the *Levitical Priests* were types of *Christ*, yet it was the High-priest, who did eminently typify him, and that in the unity and singulari-

d

ty

ty of his office; for though many Orders and Courses of inferior Priests and Ministers, yet was there but one High-priest, *There is one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus*; in the qualifications necessary to his election as to place, he was to be taken out of the Tribe of *Levi*; as to his person, which was to be every-ways perfect and comely, and the manner of his Consecration; in his singular capacity, that he alone might enter into the *holy of holies*, which he did once every year upon the great day of Expiation, with a mighty pomp and train of Ceremonies, killing Sacrifices, burning Incense, sprinkling the blood of the Sacrifice before and upon the Mercy-seat, going within the veil and making an atonement within the holy place. All which immediately referred to *Christ*, who by the sacrifice of himself, and through the veil of his own flesh entred, not into the holy place made with hands, but into Heaven it self, now to appear in the presence of God for us. All which might be represented more at large, but that I intend not a discourse about these matters.

9. BESIDES the Laws which we have hitherto enumerated, there were several other particular Commands, Ritual Constitutions about Meats and Drinks, and other parts of humane life. Such was the difference they were to make between the Creatures, some to be clean, and others unclean; such were several sorts of pollution and uncleanness, which were not in their own nature sins, but Ceremonial defilements; of this kind were several provisions about Apparel, Diet, and the ordering Family-affairs, all evidently of a Ceremonial aspect, but too long to be insisted on in this place. The main design of this Ceremonial Law was to point out to us the Evangelical state, *The Law had only a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things themselves, the body was Christ*, and therefore though the Law came by *Moses*, yet grace and truth (the truth of all those types and figures) came by *Christ*. It was time for *Moses* to resign the Chair, when once this great Prophet was come into the World. Ceremonies could no longer be of use when once the substance was at hand: well may the Stars disappear at the rising of the Sun: the *Messiah being cut off, should cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease*. At the time of *Christ's* death the veil of the Temple from top to bottom rent in funder, to shew that his death had revealed the mysteries, and destroyed the foundations of the legal Oeconomy, and put a period to the whole Temple-ministration. Nay, the Jews themselves confess, that forty years before the destruction of the Temple (a date that corresponds exactly with the death of *Christ*) the *Lot did no more go up into the right hand of the Priest* (this is meant of his dismission of the Scape-goat) nor the scarlet Ribbon, usually laid upon the forehead of the Goat, any more grew white, (this was a sign that the Goat was accepted for the remission of their sins) nor the Evening Lamp burn any longer, and that the gates of the Temple opened of their own accord. By which as at once they confirm what the Gospel reports of the opening of the *Sanctum Sanctorum* by the scissure of the veil; so they plainly confess, that at that very time their Sacrifices and Temple-services began to cease and fail: As indeed the reason of them then ceasing, the things themselves must needs vanish into nothing.

10. THE third sort of Laws given to the Jews were Judicial and Political, these were the Municipal Laws of the Nation, enacted for the good of the State, and were a kind of appendage to the second Table of the Decalogue, as the Ceremonial Laws were of the first. They might be reduced to four general heads; such as respected men in their private and domestic capacities, concerning Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children, Masters

Masters and Servants; such as concerned the Publick and the Commonwealth, relating to Magistrates, and Courts of Justice, to Contracts and Matters of right and wrong, to Estates and Inheritances, to Executions and Punishments, &c. such as belong'd to strangers, and matters of a foreign nature, as Laws concerning Peace and War, Commerce and Dealing with persons of another Nation; or lastly, such as secured the honour and the interests of Religion, Laws against Apostates and Idolaters, Wizards, Conjurers and false Prophets, against Blasphemy, Sacrilege, and such like; all which not being so proper to my purpose, I omit a more particular enumeration of them. These Laws were peculiarly calculated for the Jewish State, and that while kept up in that Country wherein God had placed them, and therefore must needs determine and expire with it. Nor can they be made a pattern and standard for the Laws of other Nations; for, though proceeding from the wisest Law-giver, they cannot reasonably be imposed upon any State or Kingdom, unless where there is an equal concurrence of circumstances, as there were in that people, for whom God enacted them. They went off the Stage with the Jewish Polity, and if any parts of them do still remain obligatory, they bind not as Judicial Laws, but as branches of the Law of Nature, the reason of them being immutable and Eternal. I know not whether it may here be useful to remark what the Jews so frequently tell us of, that the intire body of the Mosaic Law consists of DCXII. Precepts, intimated (say they) in that place where 'tis said *Moses commanded us a Law*, where the Numeral Letters of the word מורה, Deut. 33: 4 or Law, make up the number of DCXI. and the two that are wanting to make up the complete number are the two first Precepts of the Decalogue, which were not given by *Moses* to the people, but immediately by God himself. Others say that there are just DCXIII. letters in the Decalogue, and that every letter answers to a Law: But some that have had the patience to tell them, assure us that there are two whole words consisting of seven letters supernumerary, which in my mind quite spoils the computation. These DCXIII. Precepts they divide into CCXLVIII. Affirmative, according to the number of the parts of Man's body (which they make account are just so many) to put him in mind to serve God with all his bodily powers, as if every member of his body should say to him, עשה בי מצוה, make use of me to fulfill the Command; and into CCCLXV. Negative, according to the number of the days of the year, that so every day may call upon a man, and say to him, לא תעשה בי עברה, ob do not in me transgress the Command: As others will have it, they answer to the Veins or Nerves in the body of Man; that as the complete frame and compages of Man's body is made up of CCXLVIII. Members, and CCCLXV. Nerves, and the Law of so many affirmative, and so many negative Precepts, it denotes to us, that the whole perfection and accomplishment of Man lies in an accurate and diligent observance of the Divine Law. Each of these divisions they reduce under twelve houses, answerable to the twelve Tribes of Israel. In the Affirmative Precepts the first House is that of Divine Worship, consisting of twenty Precepts; the second, the House of the Sanctuary, containing XIX; the third, the House of Sacrifices, wherein are LVII; the fourth, that of Cleanness and Pollution, containing XVIII; the fifth, of Tithes and Alms, under which are XXXII; the sixth of Meats and Drinks, containing VII; the seventh, of the Passover, concerning Feasts, containing XX; the eighth, of Judgment, XIII; the ninth, of Doctrine, XXV; the tenth, of Marriage, and concerning Women, XII; the eleventh, of Judgments criminal, VIII; the twelfth, of Civil Judgments, XVII. In the Negative

Heb. 10. 1.

John 1. 17.

Jom. cap. 4. fol. 30.
ap. Buxtorf. Recens. Oper. Talm. p. 218.

Auth. Tzeror
Hammar apud
Voyli. de Leg.
Div. c. 23. p. 338.

R. Moyses Tract.
de Num. præ.
ap. Voyli. ib.

Ord. Manass. Ben
Israel de Refrort.
lib. 2. cap. 18.

Precepts, the first House is concerning the *worship of the Planets*, containing XLVII Commands; the second, of *separation from the Heathens*, XIII; the third, concerning the *reverence due to holy things*, XXIX; the fourth, of *Sacrifice and Priesthood*, LXXXII; the fifth, of *Meats*, XXXVIII; the sixth, of *Fields and Harvest*, XVIII; the seventh, of *Doctrines*, XLV; the eighth, of *Justice*, XLVII; the ninth, of *Festivals*, X; the tenth, of *Purity and Chastity*, XXIV; the eleventh, of *Wedlock*, VIII; the twelfth, concerning the *Kingdom*, IV. A method not contemptible, as which might minister to a distinct and useful explication of the whole Law of *Moses*.

11. THE next thing considerable under the *Mosaical Oeconomy* was, the methods of the Divine revelation, by what ways God communicated his mind to them, either concerning present emergencies or future events, and this was done, *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*, as the Apostle tells us, at *undry times*, or by *undry degrees and parcels*, and in *undry manners*, by various methods of revelation, whereof three most considerable, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *audible voice*, and the *spirit of Prophecy*, imparted in dreams, visions, &c. We shall make some brief remarks upon them, referring the Reader, who desires fuller satisfaction herein, to those who purpose to treat about these matters. The *Urim* and *Thummim* was a way of revelation peculiar to the High-priest: *Thou shalt put on the breast-plate of Judgment, the Urim and the Thummim, and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the Lord, and Aaron shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord continually.* 1. *Thus Eleazar the Priest is commanded to ask counsel after the Judgment of Urim before the Lord.* What this *Urim* and *Thummim* was, and what the manner of receiving answers by it, is difficult, if not impossible to tell, there being scarce any one difficulty that I know of in the Bible that hath more exercised the thoughts either of *Jewish* or *Christian* Writers. Whether it was some addition to the High-priest's breast-plate made by the hand of some curious Artist, or whether only those two words engraven upon it, or the great name *Jehovah* carved and put within the foldings of the breast-plate, or whether the twelve stones resplendent with light, and completed to perfection with the Tribes names therein, or whether some other mysterious piece of artifice immediately framed by the hand of Heaven, and given to *Moses*, when he delivered him the two Tables of the Law, is vain and endless to enquire, because impossible to determine. Nor is the manner of its giving answers less uncertain: Whether at such times the fresh and orient lustre of the stones signified the answer in the Affirmative; while their dull and dead colour spake the Negative; or whether it was by some extraordinary protuberancy and thrusting forth of the letters engraven upon the stones, from the conjunction whereof the Divine Oracle was gathered; or whether probably it might be, that when the High-priest enquired of God, with this breast-plate upon him, God did either by a lively voice, or by immediate suggestions to his mind, give him a distinct and peripatetic answer, illuminating his mind with the *Urim*, or the light of knowledge of his will in those cases, and satisfying his doubts and scruples with the *Thummim* of a perfect and complete determination of those difficulties that were propounded to him, thereby enabling him to give a satisfactory and infallible answer in all the particulars that lay before him. And this several of the *Jews* seem to intend, when they make this way of revelation one of the degrees of the *Holy Ghost*, and say, that no sooner did the High-priest put on the *Pectoral*, and had the case propounded to him, but that he was immediately

Exod. 28. 30.

Numb. 27. 21.

mediately clothed with the Holy Spirit. But it's to little purpose to hunt after that where fancy and conjecture must decide the case. Indeed among the various conjectures about this matter, none appears with greater probability than the opinion of those who conceive the *Urim* and *Thummim* to have been a couple of *Teraphim*, or little Images, (probably formed in humane shape) put within the hollow foldings of the Pontifical breast-plate, from whence God by the ministry of an Angel vocally answered those interrogatories which the High-priest made: nothing being more common even in the early Ages of the World, than such *Teraphim* in those *Eastern* Countries, usually placed in their Temples, and whence the *Dæmon* was wont oracularly to determine the cases brought before him. And as God permitted the *Jews* the use of Sacrifices, which had been notoriously abused to Superstition and Idolatry in the Heathen World, so he might indulge them these *Teraphim* (though now converted to a sacred use) that so he might by degrees wean them from the Rites of the *Gentile* World, to which they had so fond an inclination. And this probably was the reason why, when *Moses* is so particular in describing the other parts of the Sacerdotal Ornaments, nothing at all is said of this, because a thing of common use among the Nations with whom they had conversed, and notoriously known among themselves. And such we may suppose the Prophet intended when he threatened the *Jews*, that they should *abide without a Sacrifice, without an Image, or Altar, without an Ephod, and without a Teraphim*. A notion very happily improved by an ingenious Pen, whose acute conjectures and elaborate dissertations about this matter justly deserve commendation even from those who differ from it. It seems to have been a kind of political Oracle, and to be consulted only in great and weighty cases, as the Election of Supreme Magistrates, making War, &c. and only by Persons of the highest rank, none being permitted (say the *Jews*) to enquire of it, אלה למלך ולכור, *God, for the King, or the Sanhedrim*, or the whole Congregation was concerned.

Christoph. Castr. de Vaticin. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Joan. Spencer. Dissertat. de Urim & Thum. Edit. Cantab. 1670. 2.

Cud. Jom. cap. 7. Sect. 5. pag. 167.

12. A SECOND way of Divine Revelation was by an *audible voice*, accompanied many times with *Thunder*, descending as it were from Heaven, and directing them in any emergency of affairs. This the *Jewish* Writers call בִּרְקָה, the *daughter*, or Echo, of a *Voice*, which they confess to have been the lowest kind of revelation, and to have been in use only in the times of the Second Temple, when all other ways of Prophecy were ceased. But notwithstanding their common and confident assertions, whether ever there was any such standing way of revelation as this, is justly questionable (nay, it is peremptorily denied by one incomparably verified in the *Talmudic* Writings, who adds, that if there was any such thing at any time it was done by *Magick* Arts and diabolical delusions) partly, because it is only delivered by *Jewish* Writers, whose faith and honesty is too well known to the World to be trusted in stories that make so much for the honour of their Nation, not to mention their extravagant propensity to lies and fabulous reports; partly, because by their own confession God had withdrawn all his standing Oracles and ordinary ways of Revelation, their notorious impieties having caused Heaven to retire, and therefore much less would it correspond with them by such immediate converses; partly, because this seemed to be a way more accommodate to the Evangelical dispensation at the appearance of the Son of God in the World. A voice from Heaven is the most immediate testimony, and therefore fittest to do honour to him who came down from Heaven, and was sure to meet with an obdurate and incredulous Generation, and to give evidence to that Doctrine

Dr. Lightf. H. Hebr. in Matth. 3. 17.

that he published to the World. Thus by a *Bath-Col*, or a Voice from Heaven, God bare witness to our Saviour at his Baptism, and a second time at his Transfiguration, and again at the Passover at *Jerusalem*, when there came a Voice from Heaven, which the People took for Thunder, or the Communication of an Angel, and most of *S. John's* intelligences from above recorded in his Book of *Revelation* are ushered in with an, *I heard a voice from Heaven*.

13. BUT the most frequent and standing method of Divine communications was that whereby God was wont to transact with the Prophets, and in extraordinary cases with other Men, which was either by Dreams, Visions, or immediate Inspirations. The way by *Dreams* was when the Person being overtaken with a deep sleep, and all the exterior senses locked up, God presented the *Species* and *Images* of things to their understandings, and that in such a manner, that they might be able to apprehend the will of God, which they presently did upon their awaking out of sleep. These Divine Dreams the *Jews* distinguish into two sorts, *Monitory*, such as were sent only by way of instruction and admonition, to give men notice of what they were to do, or warning of what they should avoid, such were the Dreams of *Pharaoh*, *Abimelech*, *Laban*, &c. or else they were Prophetical, when God by such a powerfull energy acted upon the mind and imagination of the Prophet, as carried the strength and force of a Divine evidence along with it. This was sometimes done by a clear and distinct impression of the thing upon the mind without any dark or enigmatical representation of it, such as God made to *Samuel*, when he first revealed himself to him in the Temple; sometimes by apparition, yet so as the Man though asleep was able to discern an Angel conversing with him. By *Visions*, God usually communicated himself two ways. First, when something really appeared to the sight; thus *Moses* beheld the Bush burning, and stood there while God conversed with him; *Manoah* and his Wife saw the Angel, while he took his leave, and in a flaming *Pyramid* went up to Heaven; the three Angels appeared to *Abraham* a little before the fatal ruine of *Sodom*; all which apparitions were unquestionably true and real, the Angel assuming an humane shape, that he might the freelier converse with, and deliver his message to those to whom he was sent. Secondly, by powerfull impressions upon the imagination, usually done while the Prophet was awake, and had the free and uninterrupted exercise of his reason, though the Vision oft overpowered, and cast him into a trance, that the soul being more retired from sensible objects might the closer intend those Divine notices that were represented to it. Thus all the Prophets had the *Idea's* of those things that they were to deliver to the People, the more strongly impressed upon their fancies, and this commonly when they were in the greatest solitude and privacy, and their powers most called in, that the Prophetic influx might have the greater force upon them. In some such way *S. Paul* was caught up into the third Heaven, probably not so much by any real separation of his Soul from his Body, or local translation of his Spirit thither, as by a profound abstraction of it from his corporeal Senses, God, during the time of the trance, entertaining it with an internal and admirable scene of the glory and happiness of that state, as truly and effectually, as if his Soul had been really conveyed thither.

14. THIRDLY, God was wont to communicate his mind by immediate *Inspirations*, whereby he immediately transacted with the understandings of Men, without any relation to their fancy or their senses. It was the most pacate and serene way of Prophecy, God imparting his mind to the

Prophets

Prophets not by Dreams or Visions, but while they were awake, their powers active, and their minds calm and undisturbed. This the *Jews* call *רוח הקדש*, the *Holy Spirit*, or that kind of Revelation that was directly conveyed into the mind by the most efficacious irradiation and inspiration of the Holy Spirit; God by these Divine illapses enabling the Prophet clearly and immediately to apprehend the things delivered to him. And in this way the *נביאים*, or *holy Writings*, were dictated and conveyed to the World, in which respect the Apostle says, that *all Scripture is given by divine inspiration*. The highest pitch of this Prophetic revelation was *נבואה מפורשת*, the *gradus Mosaicus*, or that way of Prophecy that God used towards *Moses*, of whom it is particularly said, that *the Lord spake unto Moses face to face*, as a Man speaketh unto his friend: and elsewhere it is evidently distinguished from all inferior ways of Prophecy, *If there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make my self known unto him in a Vision, and will speak unto him in a Dream: my Servant Moses is not so, with him I will speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold*. Clearly implying a mighty preeminence in God's way of revelation to *Moses* above that of other Prophets, which the *Jewish* Writers make to have lyen in four things. First, that in all God's communications to *Moses* he immediately spake to his understanding, without any impressions upon fancy, any visible appearances, any Dreams or Visions of the Night. Secondly, that *Moses* had prophecies conveyed to him without any fears or consternations, whereas the other Prophets were astonished and weakened at the sight of God. Thirdly, that *Moses* had no previous dispositions or preparations to make him capable of the Divine revelation, but could directly go to God and consult him, as a man speaketh with his friend, other Prophets being forced many times by some preparatory arts to invite the Prophetic spirit to come upon them. Fourthly, that *Moses* had a freedom and liberty of spirit to prophesie at all times, and could when he pleased have recourse to the Sacred Oracle. But as to this the Scripture intimates no such thing, the spirit of Prophecy retiring from him at some times as well as from the rest of the Prophets. And indeed the Prophetic spirit did not reside in the holy men by way of habit, but occasionally, as God saw fitting to pour it out upon them; it was not in them as light is in the Sun, but as light is in the Air, and consequently depended upon the immediate irradiations of the Spirit of God.

15. THESE Divine Communications were so conveyed to the minds of the Prophets and inspired persons; that they always knew them to be Divine revelations; so mighty and perspicuous was the evidence that came along with them, that there could be no doubt, but they were the birth of Heaven. It is true, when the Prophetic spirit at any time seized upon wicked men, they understood not its effect upon them, nor were in the least improved and bettered by it; the revelation passed through them, as a sound through a Trunk, or water through a Lead-pipe, without any particular and distinct apprehension of the thing, or usefull impression made upon their minds, as is evident besides others in the case of *Caiaphas* and *Balaam*, of which last the *Jews* say expressly, *נבא בר צין אדונים ולא ידע מנבואה*, that, he prophesied according to the will of God, but understood not what he prophesied. But it was otherwise with the true Prophets, they always knew who 'twas that acted them, and what was the meaning of that intelligence that was communicated to them. In the *Gentile* world, when the *Demon* entred into the inspired person, he was usually carried out to the furious transports of rage and madness. But in the Prophets of God, although the impulse

Vide Maimon. Abr. Nevuch, part. 2. cap. 45. p. 317.

Exod. 33. 11.

Numb. 12. 6, 7, 8.

impulse might sometimes be very strong and violent, (whence the Prophet *Jeremy* complains, *Mine heart within me is broken, all my bones shake, I am like a drunken man, like a man whom wine hath overcome, because of the Lord, and because of the words of his holiness*) so as a little to ruffle their imagination, yet never so as to discompose their reason, or hinder them from a clear perception of the notices conveyed upon their minds; ὁ προφητὴς μετὰ κατὰδυναμὸς λόγων, καὶ παρρησιαστικῶς ἐλάλει, καὶ ἐπιδείκνυτο ἐν πνεύματι τοῦ ἁγίου, πρὸς πᾶσι ἀκούων, says *Epiphanius*, the Prophet had his Oracles dictated by the Holy Spirit, which he delivered strenuously, and with the most firm and unshaken consistency of his rational powers; and afterwards, γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἐν οὐρανῷ οἱ προφῆται, ἐκ δὲ οὐρανοῦ λόγων, that the Prophets were often in a bodily ecstasie, but never in an ecstasie of mind, their understandings never being rendered useless and unserviceable to them. Indeed it was absolutely necessary that the Prophet should have a full satisfaction of mind concerning the truth and Divinity of his message; for, how else should they persuade others, that the thing was from God, if they were not first sufficiently assured themselves? and therefore even in those methods that were most liable to doubts and questions, such as communications by dreams, we cannot think but that the same Spirit that moved and impressed the thing upon them, did also by some secret and inward operations settle their minds in the firmest belief and persuasion of what was revealed and suggested to them. All these ways of immediate revelation ceased some hundreds of years before the final period of the *Jewish* Church. A thing contested not only by *Christians*, but by *Jews* themselves, יְהוָה נָבִיא בְּבֵית שֹׁנִי, *There was no Prophet in the second Temple*; indeed they universally acknowledge, that there were five things wanting in the second Temple, built after their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, which had been in that of *Solomon*, viz. the Ark of the Covenant, the Fire from Heaven that lay upon the Altar, the *Schekinah*, or Presence of the Divine Majesty, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and the Spirit of Prophecy, which ceased (as they tell us) about the second year of *Darius*, to be sure at the death of *Malachy*, the last of that Order, after whom there arose no Prophet in *Israel*, whom therefore the *Jews* call, יְהוָה הַנְּבִיאִים, *the seal of the Prophets*. Indeed it is no wonder that Prophecy should cease at that time, if we consider that one of the prime ends of it did then cease, which was to be a seal and an assurance of the Divine inspiration of the holy Volumes, now the *Canon* of the Old Testament being configned and compleated by *Ezra* with the assistance of *Malachy*, and some of the last Prophets, God did not think good any longer to continue this Divine and Miraculous gift among them: But especially if we consider the great degeneracy into which that Church was falling; their horrid and crying sins having made God resolve to reject them, the departure of the Prophetick spirit shewed that God had written them a bill of divorce, and would utterly cast them off: that by this means they might be awakened to a more lively expectation of that new state of things, which the *Messiah* was coming to establish in the World, wherein the Prophetick spirit should revive, and be again restored to the Church, which accordingly came to pass, as we shall elsewhere observe.

16. THE third thing propounded was, to consider the state of Religion, and the Church under the successive periods of this *Oeconomy*. And here we shall only make some general remarks, a particular survey of those matters not confiting with the design of this discourse. Ecclesiastical Constitutions being made in the Wilderness, and the place for publick worship

Adv. Monan.
Herc. XLVIII.
p. 176.
Ibid. p. 177.

Nice. p. 159. ci-
tante Horring.
Th. Phil. l. 2. c. 3.
p. 554.

fram'd and erected, no sooner did they come into the promised Land, but the Tabernacle was set down at *Gilgal*, where, if the *Jewish* Chronology say true, it continued fourteen years, till they had subdued and divided the Land: Then fixed at *Shiloh*, and the Priests and Levites had Cities and Territories assigned to them, where it is not to be doubted but there were Synagogues or places equivalent for prayer and the ordinary solemnities of Religion, and Courts for the decision of Ecclesiastical causes. Prosperity and a plentiful Country had greatly contributed to the depravation of mens manners, and the corruption of Religion till the times of *Samuel*, the great Reformer of that Church, who erected *Colleges*, and instituted *Schools* of the *Prophets*, reduced the Societies of the Levites to their Primitive order and purity, forced the Priests to doe their duty, diligently to minister in the affairs of God's worship, and carefully to teach and instruct the people: A piece of reformation no more than necessary, *For the word of the Lord was precious in those days, there was no open vision*. CCCLXIX. years (say the *Jews*) the Tabernacle abode at *Shiloh*, from whence it was translated to *Nob* a City in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, probably about the time that the Ark was taken; thence after thirteen years to *Gibeon*, where it remained fifty years; and lastly, by *Solomon* to *Jerusalem*. The Ark being taken to carry along with them for their more prosperous success in their War against the *Philistines*, was ever after expoled to an ambulatory and unquiet course: For being taken captive by the *Philistines*, it was by them kept prisoner seven months, thence removed to *Bethshemel*, and thence to *Kiriath-jearim*, where it remained in the house of *Abinadab* twenty years, thence solemnly fetched by *David*, and after three months rest by the way in the house of *Obed-Edom*, brought triumphantly to *Jerusalem*, and placed under the covert of a Tent which he had purposely erected for it. *David* being settled in the Throne, like a pious Prince, took especial care of the affairs of Religion, he fixed the High-priest and his second, augmented the courses of the Priests from eight to four and twenty, appointed the Levites and Singers, and their several turns and times of waiting, assigned them their proper duties and ministreries, settled the *Nethinim*, or Porters, the posterity of the *Gibeonites*, made Treasurers of the revenues belonging to holy uses, and of the vast sums contributed toward the building of a Temple, as a more solemn and stately place for Divine worship, which he was fully resolved to have erected, but that God commanded it to be reserved for the peaceable and prosperous Reign of *Solomon*, who succeeding in his Father's Throne, accomplished it, building so stately and magnificent a Temple, that it became one of the greatest wonders of the World. Under his son *Rehoboam* hapned the fatal division of the Kingdom, when ten parts of twelve were rent off at once, and brought under the Empire of *Ieroboam*, who knew no better way to secure his new-gotten Sovereignty, than to take off the people from hankering after the Temple and the worship at *Jerusalem*, and therefore out of a cursed policy erected two Golden Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*, persuading the people there to pay their publick adorations, appointing Chaplains like himself, Priests of the lowest of the people; and from this time Religion began visibly to ebb and decline in that Kingdom, and Idolatry to get ground amongst them.

17. THE two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* were loyal both to God and their Prince, continuing obedient to their lawful Sovereign, and firmly adhering to the worship of the Temple, though even here too impiety in some places maintained its ground, having taken root in the Reign of *Solomon*, who through his over-great partiality and fondness to his Wives

had

had been betrayed to give too much countenance to Idolatry. The extirpation hereof was the design and attempt of all the pious and good Princes of *Judah*: *Jehosaphat* set himself in good earnest to recover Religion and the state of the Church to its ancient purity and lustre, he abolished the *Groves* and *high-places*, and appointed itinerant Priests and Levites to go from City to City to expound the Law, and instruct the people in the knowledge of their duty; nay, he himself held a royal Visitation, *Going quite through the Land, and bringing back the people to the Lord God of their Fathers*. But under the succeeding Kings Religion again lost its ground, and had been quite extinct during the tyranny and usurpation of *Athaliah*, but that good *Jehoiada* the High-priest kept it alive by his admirable zeal and industry. While he lived, his Pupil *Joas* (who owed both his Crown and his life to him) promoted the design, and purged the Temple, though after his Tutor's death he apostatized to prophaneness and idolatry. Nor indeed was the reformation effectually advanced till the time of *Hezekiah*, who no sooner ascended the Throne, but he summoned the Priests and Levites, exhorted them to begin at home, and first to reform themselves, then to cleanse and repair the Temple; he reformed the Priests and Levites in their proper places and offices, and caused them to offer all sorts of Sacrifices, and the Passover to be universally celebrated with great strictness and solemnity; he destroyed the Monuments of Idolatry, *took away the Altars in Jerusalem*, and having given commission, the people did the like in all parts of the Kingdom, breaking the Images, cutting down the Groves, throwing down the Altars and high places, *untill they had utterly destroyed them all*. But neither greatness nor piety can exempt any from the common Laws of mortality, *Hezekiah* dies, and his Son *Manasseh* succeeds, a wicked Prince, under whose influence impiety like a land-flood broke in upon Religion, and laid all waste before it. But his Grandchild *Josiah* made some amends, he gave signal instances of an early piety; for in the eighth year of his Reign, *while he was yet young*, he began *to seek after the God of David his Father*, and in the twelfth year he began to purge *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; he defaced whatever had been abused and prostituted to Idolatry and Superstition throughout the whole Kingdom, repaired God's house, and ordered its worship according to the precept of the *Mosaic Law*, a copy whereof they had found in the ruins of the Temple, solemnly engaged himself and his people to be true to Religion and the worship of God, and caused so great and solemn a Passover to be held, *that there was no Passover like to it kept in Israel from the days of Samuel*. And more he had done, had not an immature death cut him off in the midst both of his days, and his pious designs and projects. Not many years after, God, being highly provoked by the prodigious impieties of that Nation, delivered it up to the Army of the King of *Babylon* who demolished the City, harassed the Land, and carried the people captive unto *Babylon*. And no wonder the Divine patience could hold no longer, when *all the chief of the Priests and the people transgressed very much, after all the abominations of the Heathen, and polluted the house of the Lord, which he had hallowed in Jerusalem*. Seventy years they remained under this captivity, during which time the Prophet *Daniel* gave lively and particular accounts of the *Messiah*, that he should come into the World to introduce a Law of *everlasting righteousness*, to die as a sacrifice and expiation for the sins of the people, and to put a period to the *Levitical* sacrifices and oblations. And whereas other Prophecies had only in general defined the time of the *Messiah's* coming, he particularly determines the period, that all this should be at the end of *LXX. weeks*, that is, at the expiration of

CCCCXC.

CCCCXC. years; which exactly fell in with the time of our Saviour's appearing in the World. The seventy years captivity being run out, by the favour of the King of *Babylon* they were set free, and by him permitted and assisted to repair *Jerusalem*, and rebuild the Temple, which was accordingly done under the government of *Nehemiah*, and the succeeding Rulers, and the Temple finished by *Zorobabel*, and things brought into some tolerable state of order and decency, and so continued till the Reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of Syria, by whom the Temple was profaned and violated, and the Jewish Church miserably afflicted and distressed; he thrust out *Onias* the High-priest, and put in his brother *Jason*, a man lost both to Religion and good manners, and who by a vast sum of money had purchased the Priesthood of *Antiochus*: At this time *Matthias* a Priest, and the head of the *Asmonæan* Family, stood up for his Country; after whom came *Judas Macchabeus*, ἀνὴρ γενναῖος καὶ μεγαλοπύματος, καὶ πᾶσι ὄντις ἐν αὐτῷ πολὺς ἐλπίς, *Judas* καὶ δεξιὰ καὶ παρὰ τὸν λαόν, as *Josephus* truly characters him, a man of a generous temper, and a valiant mind, ready to do or suffer any thing to assert the Liberties and Religion of his Country, followed both in his zeal and prosperous success by his two brothers *Jonathan* and *Simon*, successively High-priests and Commanders after him. Next him came *John* surnamed *Hyrceanus*, then *Aristobulus*, *Alexander*, *Hyrceanus*, *Aristobulus junior*, *Alexander*, *Antigonus*; in whose time *Herod* the Great having by the favour of *Anthony* obtained of the *Roman Senate* the Sovereignty over the Jewish Nation, and being willing that the Priesthood should intirely depend upon his arbitrary disposal, abrogated the succession of the *Asmonæan* Family, and put in one *Ananel*, ἱερεὺς ὃς ἀμνηστῆται, as *Josephus* calls him, an obscure Priest, of the line of those who had been Priests in *Babylon*. To him succeeded *Aristobulus*, to him *Jesus* the son of *Phabes*, to him *Simon*, who being deposed, next came *Matthias*, deposed also by *Herod*, next him *Joazar*, who underwent the same fate from *Archelaus*, then *Jesus* the son of *Sie*, after whom *Joazar* was again restored to the Chair, and under his Pontificate (though before his first deposition) *Christ* was born, things every day growing worse among them, till about seventy years after the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermost, and brought the *Romans*, who finally took away their place and Nation.

8. BEFORE we go off from this part of our discourse, it may not be amiss to take a more particular view of the state of the Jewish Church, as it stood at the time of our Saviour's appearing in the World, as what may reflect some considerable light upon the History of *CHRIST* and his *Apostles*. And if we cast our eyes upon it at this time, *How was the gold become dim, and the most fine gold changed!* How miserably deformed was the face of the Church, how strangely degenerated from its Primitive Institution! whereof we shall observe some particular instances. Their Temple though lately repaired and rebuilt by *Herod*, and that with so much pomp and grandeur, that *Josephus*, who yet may justly be presumed partial to the honour of his own Nation, says of it, that it was the most admirable structure that was ever seen or heard of both for the preparation made for it, the greatness and magnificence of the thing it self, and the infinite expence and cost bestowed upon it, as well as for the glory of that Divine worship that was performed in it, yet was it infinitely short of that of *Solomon*; besides that it had been often exposed to rudeness and violence. Not to mention the horrible prophanations of *Antiochus*, had been of late invaded by *Pompey*, who boldly ventured into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and without any scruple curiously contemplated the mysteries of that place, but suffered no injury to be

offered

Antiquit. Jud.
lib. 12. cap. 19.
p. 425.

Lib. 15. cap. 2.
p. 512.

De Bell. Jud.
lib. 7. cap. 2.
p. 958.

2 Chron. 19. 4.

2 Chron. 34. 3.

2 Chron. 36. 14.

offered to it. After him came *Craffus*, who to the others boldness added Sacrilege, seizing what the others piety and modesty had spared, plundering the Temple of its vast wealth and treasure. *Herod* having procured the Kingdom, besieged and took the City and the Temple, and though to ingratiate himself with the People he endeavoured what in him lay to secure it from rapine and impiety, and afterwards expended incredible Sums in its reparation, yet did he not stick to make it truckle under his wicked policies and designs. The more to inear himself to his Patrons at *Rome*, he set up a *Golden Eagle* of a vast dimension (the Arms of the *Roman Empire*) over the great Gate of the Temple: a thing so expressly contrary to the Law of *Moses*, which forbids all Images; and accounted so monstrous a profanation of that holy place, that while *Herod* lay a-dying the People in a great tumult and uproar gathered together and pulled it down. A great part of it was become an Exchange and a Market; the place where Men were to meet with God, and to trade with Heaven, was now turned into a Ware-house for Merchants, and a Shop for Usurers, and the *House of Prayer* into a *Den of Thieves*. The worship formerly wont to be performed there with pious and devout affections, was now thrunk into a mere shell and out-side, they drew near to God with their mouths, and honoured him with their lips, but their hearts were far from him; Rites of humane invention had juttied out those of Divine Institution, and their very Prayers were made traps to catch the unwary People, and to devour the Widow and the Fatherless. Their Priesthood was so changed and altered, that it retain'd little but its ancient Name; the High-priests who by their Original Charter were lineally to succeed, and to hold their place for life, were become almost annual, scarce a Year passing over, wherein one was not thrust out, and another put in, *ἡ δὲ ἱερεὺς ἡμετέρας ἡμετέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐστὶν ἐκείνου, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐστὶν ἐκείνου*, as *Eusebius* notes out of their own Historian. Nay, which was far worse, it was become not one yearly annual, but venal, *Herod* exposing it to sale, and scarce admitting any to the Sacerdotal Office, who had not first sufficiently paid for his Patent; and, which was the natural consequence of that, the place was filled with the refuse of the People, Men of mean abilities and debauched manners, who had neither parts nor piety to recommend them, he being the best and the fittest man, that offered most. Nay, into so strange a degeneracy were they fallen in this matter, that *Josephus* reports, that one *Phannias* was elected High-priest, not only a rustick and illiterate fellow, not only not of the Sacerdotal Line, but so intolerably stupid and ignorant, that when they came to acquaint him, he knew not what the High-priesthood meant. And not content to be imposed upon, and tyrannized over by a Foreign Power, they fell a quarrelling among themselves, and mutually prey'd upon one another; the High-priests falling out with the inferior Orders, and both Parties going with an armed retinue after them, ready to clash and fight where-ever they met, the High-priest sending his servants to fetch away the Tythes due to the inferior Priests, insumch that many of the poorest of them were famished for want of necessary food.

19. THEIR Law, which had been delivered with so much majesty and magnificence, and for which they themselves pretended to great a reverence, they had miserably corrupted and depraved (the moral part of it especially) and that two ways. First, by gross and absurd interpretations, which the Teachers of those times had put upon it. The *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who ruled the Chair in the *Jewish Church*, had by false and corrupt glosses defiled the majesty and purity of the Law, and made it to serve the purposes of

Joseph. Antiqu.
Jud. l. 17. c. 8.
p. 596. & de
Bell. Jud. l. 1.
c. 21. p. 772.

Hist. Eccl. l. 1.
c. 10. p. 28.

De Bell. Jud. l. 4.
cap. 18. p. 872.

Joseph. Antiqu.
lib. 20. cap. 8.
p. 598.

an evil life: they had taught the People, that the Law required no more than external righteousness, that if there was but a visible conformity of the life, they need not be solicitous about the government of their minds, or the regular conduct of their thoughts or passions; that so Men did but carry themselves fair to the eye of the World, it was no great matter how things went in the secret and unseen retirements of the Soul, nay, that a punctual observance of some external Precepts of the Law would compensate and quit scores with God for the neglect or violation of the rest. They told Men that when the Law forbade murder, so they did not actually kill another, and sheath their Sword in their Brother's bowels, it was well enough, Men were not restrained from furious and intemperate passions, they might be angry, yea, though by peevish and uncivil speeches they betrayed the rancour and malice of their minds. They confessed the Law made it adultery actually to embrace the bosome of a stranger, but would not have it extend to wanton thoughts and unchaste desires, or that it was adultery for a man to lust after a Woman, and to commit folly with her in his heart: they told them that in all oaths and vows, if they did but perform what they had sworn to God, the Law took no farther notice of it, whereas every vain and unnecessary oath, all customary and trifling use of the name of God was forbidden by it. They made them believe that it was lawfull for them to proceed by the rigorous Law of retaliation, to exact their own to the utmost, and to right and revenge themselves; whereas the Law requires a tender, compassionate and benevolent temper of mind, and is so far from owning the rigorous punctilio's of revenge, that it obliges to meekness and patience, to forgiveness and charity, and which is the very height of charity, not only to pardon, but to love and befriend our greatest enemies, quite contrary to the Doctrine which these Men taught, that though they were to love their neighbours, that is, Jews, yet might they hate their enemies. In these and such like instances they had notoriously abused and evacuated the Law, and in a manner rendered it of no effect. And therefore when our Lord, as the great Prophet sent from God, came into the World, the first thing he did after the entrance upon his publick Ministry, was to cleanse and purify the Law, and to remove that rubbish which the *Jewish* Doctors had cast upon it. He rescued it out of the hands of their poisonous and pernicious expostitions, restored it to its just authority, and to its own primitive sense and meaning, he taught them that the Law did not only bind the external act, but prescribe to the most inward motions of the mind, and that whoever transgresses here, is no less obnoxious to the Divine Justice, and the penalties of the Law, than he that is guilty of the most gross and palpable violations of it: he shewed them how infinitely more pure and strict the command was, than these Impostours had represented it, and plainly told them that if ever they expected to be happy, they must look upon the Law with an other-guide eye, and follow it after another rate, than their blind and deceitfull Guides did, *For I say unto you, Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye can in no case enter into the Kingdom of God.*

20. THE other way by which they corrupted and dishonoured the Law, and weakened the power and reputation of it, was by preferring before it their Oral and unwritten Law. For besides the Law consigned to Writing, they had their *Oral* *Law* *delivered by word of mouth*, whose pedigree they thus deduce. They tell us that when *Moses* waited upon God Forty Days in the Mount, he gave him a double Law, one in Writing, the other *Traditionary*, containing the sense and explication of the former: being come down into his Tent, he repeated it first to *Aaron*,

then to *Ithamar* and *Eleazar* his Sons, then to the *Seventy Elders*, and lastly to all the People, the same Persons being all this while present. *Aaron* who had now heard it four times recited, *Moses* being gone out, again repeated it before them: after his departure out of the Tent, his two Sons who by this had heard it as oft as their Father, made another repetition of it, by which means the *Seventy Elders* came to hear it four times, and then they also repeated it to the Congregation, who had now also heard it repeated four times together, once from *Moses*, then from *Aaron*, then from his Sons, and lastly, from the *Seventy Elders*, after which the Congregation broke up, and every one went home, and taught it his Neighbour. This Oral Law *Moses* upon his Death-bed repeated to *Joshua*, he delivered it to the *Elders*, they to the *Prophets*, the *Prophets* to the men of the great Synagogue, the last of whom was *Symeon the Just*, who delivered it to *Antigonus Sochans*, and he to his Successors, the wise Men, whose business it was to recite it, and so it was handed through several Generations, the names of the Persons who delivered it in the several Ages from its first rise under *Moses* till above an Hundred Years after *Christ*, being particularly enumerated by *Marmonides*. At last it came to *R. Jehuda*, commonly styled by the Jews *our holy Master*, the Son of *Rabban Symeon* (who flourished a little before the time of the Emperor *Antoninus*) who considering the unsettled and tottering condition of his own Nation, and how apt these traditional Precepts would be to be forgotten or mistaken, by the weakness of Mens memories, or the perverseness of their wits, or the dispersion of the Jews in other Countries, collected all these Laws and Expositions, and committed them to Writing, styling his Book *Mishnaioth*, or the *Repetition*. This was afterwards illustrated and explained by the *Rabbins* dwelling about *Babylon*, with infinite cases and controversies concerning their Law, whose resolutions were at last compiled into another Volume, which they called *Gemara*, or *Doctrine*, and both together constitute the intire Body of the *Babylonish Talmud*, the one being the Text, the other the Comment. The folly and vanity of this account, though it be sufficiently evident to need no confutation with any wife and discerning Man, yet have the Jews in all Ages made great advantage of it, magnifying and extolling it above the written Law with Titles and Elogies that hyperbolize into blasphemy. They tell us, that this is *עיקר הוראה*, the foundation of the Law, for whose sake it was that God entered into Covenant with the *Israelites*, that without this the whole Law would lie in the dark, yea, be mere obscurity and darkness it self, as being contrary and repugnant to it self, and defective in things necessary to be known: that it is joy to the heart, and health to the bones, that the words of it are more lovely and desirable than the words of the Law, and a greater sin to violate the one than the other; that it's little or no commendation for a Man to read the Bible, but to study the *Mishna* is that for which a Man shall receive the reward of the other World, and that no Man can have a peaceable and quiet Conscience, who leaves the study of the *Talmud* to go to that of the Bible; that the Bible is like *Water*, the *Mishna* like *Wine*; the *Talmud* like *Spiced Wine*; that all the words of the *Rabbins* are the very words of the living God, from which a Man might not depart, though they should tell him his right hand were his left, and his left his right; nay, they blush not, nor tremble to assert, *שנים במקרא ה'א לאבד היום*, *אבד היום*, that to study in the holy Bible is nothing else but to lose our time; I will mention but one bold and blasphemous sentence more, that we may see how far these desperate wretches are given over to a spirit of impiety and infatuation, they tell us, that he that differs from his *Rabbin* or

Teacher,

Firk. Abodh.
cap. 1. Sect. 1.
3. p. 1.

Jad. Chazak. ex
quo hoc. fuit
proxim. citat. Jos.
Voss. de leg. div.
c. 9. Et seq. ubi
curia Judaeorum
de Legis hujus
origine et success.
fuisse sententias
videre est.

Vid. Buxtorf. de
Abbrev. p. 222.
Et de Synag. Jud.
cap. 3. Hotting.
Theol. Phil. lib. 2.
cap. 3.

Teacher, בחיול על השנויה והמאין כחברו חכמים נכאמן בשנויה, differs from the Divine Majesty, but he that believes the words of the wise men, believes God himself.

21. STRANGE! that Men should so far offer violence to their reason, so far conquer and subdue their conscience, as to be able to talk at this wild and prodigious rate: and strange it would seem, but that we know a Generation of Men, great Patrons of Tradition too, in another Church, who mainly endeavour to debase and suppress the Scriptures, and value their unwritten Traditions at little less rate than this. But I let them pass. This is no novel and up-start humour of the Jews, they were notoriously guilty of it in our Saviour's days, whom we find frequently charging them with their superstitious observances of many little rites and usages derived from the Traditions of the Elders, wherein they placed the main of Religion, and for which they had a far more sacred regard, than for the plain and positive commands of God. Such were their frequent washings of their Pots and Cups, their brazen Vessels and Tables, the purifying themselves after they came from Market (as if the touching of others had defiled them) the washing their hands before every Meal, and many other things which they had received to hold. In all which they were infinitely neat and scrupulous, making the neglect of them of equal guilt with the greatest immorality, not sticking to affirm, that he who eats Bread with unwashen hands, נאכל בלא כף אש וטור, is as if he lay with an Harlot. This it's plain they thought a sufficient charge against our Lord's Disciples, that they were not zealous observers of these things. When they saw some of his Disciples eat Bread with defiled (that is to say, with unwashen) hands, they found fault; and asked him, Why walk not thy Disciples according to the Tradition of the Elders, but eat Bread with unwashen hands? To whom our Saviour smartly answered, that they were the Persons of whom the Prophet had spoken, who honoured God with their lips, but their hearts were far from him, that in vain did they worship him, while for Doctrines they taught the commandments of men, laying aside and rejecting the Commandments of God, that they might hold the Tradition of men. For they were not content to make them of equal value and authority with the Word of God, but made them a means wholly to evacuate and supersede it. Whereof our Lord gives a notorious instance in the case of Parents. They could not say but that the Law obliged Children to honour and revere their Parents, and to administer to their necessities in all straits and exigencies, but they had found out a fine way to evade the force of the command, and that under a pious and plausible pretence. *Moses* said, Honour thy Father and thy Mother: and whose curseth Father or Mother let him die the death. But ye say, If a man shall say to his Father or Mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, he shall be free: And ye suffer him no more to do ought for his Father, or Mother. By which is commonly understood, that when their Parents required relief and assistance from their Children, they put them off with this excuse, that they had consecrated their Estate to God, and might not divert it to any other use. Though this seems a specious and plausible pretence, yet it is not reasonable to suppose that either they had, or would pretend that they had entirely devoted wherever they had to God, and must therefore refer to some other custom. Now among the many kinds of oaths and vows that were among the Jews they had one, which they called נדר אסור, the vow of interditt; whereby a man might refrain himself as to this or that particular person, and this or that particular thing; as, he might vow not to accept of such a courtesie from this friend or that neigh-

Mark 7. 2. 3. &
Ezz.

Marth. 15. 1.
Talm. Tr. Sota
cap. 1. vid. Buxtorf.
Syn. Jud.
c. 11. p. 236.
Mark 7. 2-9.

vid. Lud. Cap.
pell. diatrib. de
Corban. Grot.
annot. in Marth.
15. 5. Coccei. in
Excerpt. Gemara.
Sanhed. p. 273.
Hotting. 10. Phil.
1. c. 1. Sect. 5.
p. 31.

bour, or that he would not part with this or that thing of his own to such a man, to lend him his Horie, or give him any thing towards his maintenance, &c. and then the thing became utterly unlawful, and might not be done upon any consideration whatsoever, lest the Man became guilty of the violation of his Vow. The form of this Vow frequently occurs in the *Jewish* Writings, and even in the very same words wherein our Lord expresses it, קרבן שאני נותן לך, *Be it Corban, or a gift* (that is, a thing sacred) *whereby I may be any ways profitable to thee*, that is, be that thing unlawful or prohibited to me, wherein I may be helpfull and assilient to thee. And nothing more common than this way of vowing in the particular case of Parents, whereof there are abundant instances in the Writings of the *Jewish* Masters, who thus explain the forementioned Vow, וקדוש ייחא כל מה שאני עושה מלכו על פי אבא, *Whatever I shall gain hereafter shall be sacred*, as to the maintenance of my Father; or, as Maimonides expresses it, *That what I provide, my Father shall eat nothing of it*, that is, says he, *he shall receive no profit by it*; and then as they tell us, וקדוש איני יכול לדור, *He that had thus vowed, might not transgress or make void his Vow*. So that when indigent Parents craved relief and assistance from their Children, and probably wearied them with importunity, it was but vowing in a passionate resentment, that they should not be better for what they had, and then they were safe, and might no more dispose any part of their Estate to that use, than they might touch the *Corban*, that which was most solemnly consecrated to God. By which means they were taught to be unnatural under a pretence of Religion, and to suffer their Parents to starve, lest themselves should violate a senseless and unlawful Vow. So that though they were under the precedent obligations of a natural duty, a duty as clearly commanded by God as words could express it, yet a blind Tradition, a rash and impious Vow, made for the most part out of passion or covetousness, should cancel and supersede all these obligations, it being unlawful henceforth to give them one penny to relieve them: *Te suffer him no more* (says our Lord) *to doe ought for his Father or his Mother, making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered*.

22. THE last instance that I shall note of the corruption and degeneracy of this Church, is the many *Sefts* and Divisions that were in it, a thing which the *Jews* themselves in their Writings confess would happen in the days of the *Messiah*, whose Kingdom should be over-run with heretical Opinions. That Church which heretofore like *Jerusalem* had been at unity within it self, was now miserably broken into *Sefts* and Factions, whereof three most considerable, *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and the *Essenes*. The *Pharisees* derive their name from פרוש, which may admit of a double signification, and either not unsuitable to them: It may refer to them as פרושים, *Explainers* or *Interpreters* of the Law, which was a peculiar part of their work, and for which they were famous and venerable among the *Jews*; or more probably to their separation (the most proper and natural importance of the word) so called, *הפריש* (הפריש) *as Epiphanius* observed of old, because separated from all others in their extraordinary pretences of piety, the very *Jews* themselves thus describing a *Pharisee*, he is one טמא מכל טמא, *that separates himself from all uncleanness, and from all unclean Meats, and from the people of the Earth*, (the common rout) *who accurately observe not the difference of Meats*. It is not certain when this *Seft* first thrust up its head into the World, probably not long after the times of the *Macchabees*, 'tis certain they were of considerable standing, and great account in the time of our

Saviour:

Saviour: To be sure strangely wide of the mark are those *Jewish* Chronologists who say, that the *Seft* of the *Pharisees* arose in the times of *Tiberius Caesar*, and *Ptolomey the Egyptian*, under whom the *Septuagint* translation was accomplished; as if *Ptolomey Philadelphus* and *Tiberius Caesar* had been Contemporaries, between whom there is the distance of no less than CCLX. years. But when-ever it began, a bold and daring *Seft* it was, not fearing to affront Princes, and persons of the greatest quality, crafty and insinuating, and who by a shew of great zeal, and infinite strictness in Religion, beyond the rate of other men, had procured themselves a mighty reverence from the people; so strict, that (as a Learned man observes) *Pharisee* is used in the *Talmudick* writings to denote a pious and holy man; and *Benjamin* the Jew speaking of *R. Ascher*, says, he was *דבורש שונפרש* a truly devout man, separate from the affairs of this world. And yet under all this seeming severity they were but religious Villains, spitefull and malicious, griping and covetous, great oppressours, merciless dealers, heady and seditious, proud and scornfull, indeed guilty of most kinds of immorality, of whose temper and manners I say the less in this place, having elsewhere given an account of them. They held that the *Oral Law* was of infinitely greater moment and value than the written Word; that the Traditions of their Fore-fathers were above all things to be embraced and followed, the strict observance whereof would entitle a man to Eternal Life; that the Souls of men are immortal, and had their dooms awarded in the *Subterranean* Regions; that there is a *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration of pious Souls out of de Bell. Jud. l. 2. one Body into another; that things come to pass by fate, and an inevitable necessity, and yet that Man's Will is free, that by this means men might be rewarded and punished according to their works. I add no more concerning them, than that some great men of the Church of *Rome* say with some kind of boasting, that such as were the *Pharisees* among the *Jews*, such are the *Religious* (they mean the *Monastical* Orders of their Church) among Christians. Much good may it doe them with the comparison, I confess my self so far of their mind, that there is too great a conformity between them.

23. NEXT the *Pharisees* come the *Sadducees*, as opposite to them in their temper, as their Principles; so called (as *Epiphanius* and some others will have it) from צדק justice, as pretending themselves to be very just and righteous men, but this agrees not with the account given of their lives. They are generally thought to have been denominated from *Sadock* the Scholar of *Antigonus Sochans*, who flourished about the year of the World MMMDCCXXX. CCLXXXIV. Years before the Nativity of our Saviour. They pass under a very ill character even among the Writers of their own Nation, *בגלילי מותר רעור* *impious men, and of very loose and debauched manners*: which is no more than what might be expected as the natural consequence of their principles, this being one of their main *dogmata* or opinions, that the Soul is not immortal, and that there is no future state after this life. The occasion of which delperate principle is said to have been a mistake of the doctrine of their Master *Antigonus*, who was wont to press his Scholars not to be like mercenary Servants, who serve their Masters merely for what they can get by them; but to serve God for himself, without expectation of rewards. This, *Sadock* and *Baitbos*, two of his disciples misunderstanding, thought their Master had peremptorily denied any state of future rewards; and having laid this dangerous foundation, these unhappy superstructures were built upon it; that there is no Resurrection, for if there be no reward, what need that the Body should rise again; that

R. Ged Schal. Rabb. p. 104. diane Hering. Tb. Phil. l. 1. c. 1. p. 27. L'Emper. in Benjamin. R. 147. R. 6.

Vid. Joseph. An. l. 1. c. 2. p. 517. & de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 1. p. 788.

Pirk. Aboth. c. 1. Sect. 3. p. m. 11.

Harf. xvi. p. 21.

Baal Aruch in sec. פרוש.

the Soul is not immortal, nor exists in the separate state, for if it did, it must be either rewarded or punished; and if not the Soul, then by the same proportion of reason no spiritual substance, neither Angel, nor Spirit; that there is no Divine Providence, but that God is perfectly placed as beyond the commission, so beyond the inspection and regard of what sins or evils are done or happen in the World, as indeed what great reason to believe a wife and righteous Providence, if there be no reward or punishment for virtue and vice in another life? These pernicious and Atheistical opinions justly exposed them to the reproach and hatred of the people, who were wont eminently to style them *מְרִיבֵי*, the Hereticks, Infidels, Epicureans, no words being thought bad enough to bestow upon them. They rejected the Traditions so vehemently asserted by the Pharisees, and taught that men were to keep to the Letter of the Law, and that nothing was to be imposed either upon their belief or practice, but what was expressly owned and contained in it. *Josephus* observes, that they were the fewest of all the Sects, *πρωτοι δὲ τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς*, but usually men of the better rank and quality; as what wonder, if rich and great men, who tumble in the pleasures and advantages of a prosperous fortune, be willing to take sanctuary at those opinions, that afford the greatest patronage to looseness and debauchery, and care not to hear of being called to account in another World, for what they have done in this? For this reason the Sadducees ever appeared the greatest sticklers to preserve the peace, and were the most severe and implacable Justicers against the authors or fomenters of tumults and seditions, lest they should disturb and interrupt their soft and ease course of life, the only happiness their principles allowed them to expect.

24. THE *Essenes* succeed, a Sect probably distinct from either of the former. Passing by the various conjectures concerning the derivation of their name, which when dressed up with all advantages, are still but bare conjectures, they began about the times of the *Maccabees*, when the violent persecutions of *Antiochus* forced the Jews for their own safety to retire to the Woods and Mountains. And though in time the storm blew over, yet many of them were too well pleased with these undisturbed solitudes to return, and therefore combined themselves into religious societies, leading a solitary and contemplative course of life, and that in very great numbers, there being usually above four thousand of them, as both *Philo* and *Josephus* tell us. *Pliny* takes notice of them, and describes them to be a solitary generation, remarkable above all others in this, that they live without Women, without any embraces, without money, conversing with nothing but Woods and Palm-trees; that their numbers encreased every day as fast as any died, persons flocking to them from all quarters, to seek repose here, after they had been wearied with the iniquities of an prosperous fortune. They paid a due reverence to the Temple, by sending gifts and presents thither, but yet worshipped God at home, and used their own Rites and Ceremonies. Every seventh day they publicly met in their Synagogues, where the younger seating themselves at the feet of the elder, one reads some portions out of a Book, which another, eminently skilled in the principles of their Sect, expounds to the rest (their *dogmata*, like the Philosophy of the Ancients, being obscurely and enigmatically delivered to them) instructing them in the rules of piety and righteousness, and all the duties that concerned God, others, or themselves. They industriously tilled and cultivated the ground, and lived upon the fruits of their own labours; had all their revenues in common; there being neither rich, nor poor among them: Their Manners were very harmless and innocent, exact

Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. cap. 18. p. 788.

Antiquit. Jud. l. 18. c. 2. p. 617.

Hist. Nat. lib. 5. c. 17. p. 80.

Vid. Phil. lib. quod omnis probus liber. p. 876, 877.
Joseph. Antiquit. Jud. l. 18. c. 2. p. 617, princip. de Bell. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 18. p. 785. & seqq.

exact observers of the rules of Justice, somewhat beyond the practice of other men. As for that branch of them that lived in *Egypt*, whose excellent Manners and Institutions are so particularly described and commended by *Philo*, and whom *Eusebius* and others will needs have to have been Christians converted by *St. Mark*, we have taken notice of elsewhere in *St. Mark's* Life. We find no mention of them in the History of the Gospel, probably because living remote from Cities, and all places of public concourse, they never concerned themselves in the actions of *Christ* or his *Apostles*. What their Principles were in matters of speculation is not much material to enquire, their Institutions mainly referring to practice. Out of a great regard to Wisdom and Virtue, they neglected all care of the Body, renounced all conjugal embraces, abstained very much from Meats and Drinks, some of them not eating or drinking for three, others for five or six days together, accounting it unbecoming men of such a philosophical temper and genius, to spend any part of the day upon the necessities of the body: Their way they called *σέβας*, worship, and their rules *νόμος δόγματα*, doctrines of wisdom; their contemplations were sublime and speculative, and of things beyond the ordinary notions of other Sects; they traded in the names and mysteries of Angels, and in all their carriages bore a great shew of modesty and humility. And therefore these in all likelihood were the very persons, whom *St. Paul* primarily designed (though not excluding others who espoused the same principles) when he charges the *Colossians* to let no man beguile them of their reward in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which be hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, that being dead to the rudiments of the World, they should no longer *δουλασθῶσαι*, be subject to these dogmata or ordinances, such as Touch not, taste not, handle not, (the main principles of the *Essenian* Institution) being the commandments and doctrines of men; which things have indeed a shew of wisdom in will-worship and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh. Besides these three greater, there were several other lesser Sects in the Jewish Church, such as the *Herodians*, supposed to have been either part of *Herod's* guard, or a combination of men, who to ingratiate themselves with the Prince, maintained *Herod* to be the *Messiah*, and at their own charge celebrated his Coronation days, as also the Sabbath, when they used to set lighted Candles crowned with Violets in their windows; an opinion which *St. Hierom* justly laughs at as trifling and ridiculous. Probably they were a party that had espoused *Herod's* interest, and endeavoured to support his new-gotten Sovereignty. For *Herod* being a stranger, and having by the Roman power usurped the Kingdom, was generally hateful and burthen some to the people, and therefore besides the assistance of a foreign power, needed some to stand by him at home. They were peculiarly active in pressing people to pay Tribute to *Cesar*, *Herod* being obliged (as *St. Hierom* observes) by the Charter of his Sovereignty to look after the Tribute due to *Cesar*, and they could not do him a more acceptable service, by this means endearing him to his great Patrons at *Rome*. In matters of opinion, they seem to have sided with the Sadducees; what *St. Matthew* calls the *leaven of the Sadducees*, *St. Mark* styles the *leaven of Herod*. Probable it is, that they had drawn *Herod* to be of their principles, that as they asserted his right to the Kingdom, he might favour and maintain their impious opinions. And 'tis likely enough, that a man of so debauched manners might be easily tempted to take shelter under principles that so directly served the purposes of a bad life. Another Sect in that Church were the *Samaritanes*, the posterity of those who succeeded in the room of the ten captivated Tribes, a mixture of Jews

Col. 2. 18. — 20, 21, 22, 23.

Comm. in Matth. 22. p. 66. Tom. 9.

Loc. citat.

Matth. 16. 5. Mark. 8. 15.

Jews and Gentiles : they held, that nothing but the *Pentateuch* was the Word of God, that Mount *Gerizim* was the true place of publick and solemn worship, that they were the descendents of *Joseph*, and heirs of the *Aaronical* Priesthood, and that no dealing or correspondence was to be maintained with strangers, nor any unclean thing to be touched. The *Karræans* were a branch of the *Sadducees*, but rejected afterwards their abominable and unfound opinions; they are the true *Textualists*, adhering onely to the writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, and expounding the Scripture by it self, peremptorily disowning the absurd glosses of the *Talmud*, and the idle Traditions of the Rabbins, inasmuch that they admit not so much as the *Hebrew* points into their Bibles, accounting them part of the *Oral* and *Traditionary Law*; for which reason they are greatly hated by the rest of the *Jews*. They are in great numbers about *Constantinople*, and in other places at this day. There was also the Sect of the *Zealots*, frequently mentioned by *Josephus*, a generation of men insolent and ungovernable, fierce and savage, who under a pretence of extraordinary zeal for God and the honour of his Law, committed the most enormous outrages against God and Man; but of them we have given an account in the Life of *St. Simon the Zealot*. And yet as if all this had not been enough to render their Church miserable within it self, their fins and inextinguishable divisions had brought in the *Roman* power upon them, who set Magistrates and Taskmasters over them, deprefsed their great *Sanhedrim*, put in and out Senators at pleasure, made the Temple pay tribute, and placed a Garrison at hand to command it, abrogated a great part of their Laws, and stript them so naked both of Civil and Ecclesiastical Order and Authority, that they had not power left so much as to put a man to death. All evident demonstrations that *Shiloh* was come, and the *Sceptre* departed, that the *Sacrifice* and *Oblation* was to cease, the *Messiah* being cut off, who came to smite transgression, to make an end of sins, to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the EVANGELICAL Dispensation.

The gradual Revelations concerning the Messiah. John the Baptist Christ's Forerunner. His extraordinary Birth. His austere Education, and way of Life. His Preaching, what. His initiating Profelytes by Baptism. Baptism in use in the Jewish Church. Its Original, whence. His resolution and impartiality. His Martyrdom. The character given him by Josephus, and the Jews. The Evangelical Dispensation wherein it exceeds that of Moses. Its perspicuity and perfection. Its agreeableness to humane nature. The Evangelical Promises better than those of the Law, and in what respects. The aids of the Spirit plentifully afforded under the Gospel. The admirable confirmation of this Oeconomy. The great extent and latitude of it. Judaism not capable of being communicated to all mankind. The comprehensiveness of the Gospel. The Duration of the Evangelical Covenant. The Mosaic Statutes in what sense said to be for ever. The Typical and transient nature of that State. The great happiness of Christians under the Oeconomy of the Gospel.

I. GOD having from the very infancy of the World promised the *Messiah*, as the great Redeemer of Mankind, was accordingly pleased in all Ages to make gradual discoveries and manifestations of him, the revelations concerning him in every Dispensation of the Church still shining with a bigger and more particular light, the nearer this *Sun of Righteousness* was to his rising. The first Gospel and glad tidings of him commenced with the fall of *Adam*, God out of infinite tenderness and commiseration promising to send a person who should triumphantly vindicate and rescue mankind from the power and tyranny of their Enemies, and that he should doe this by taking the humane nature upon him, and being born of the seed of the Woman. No farther account is given of him till the times of *Abraham*, to whom it was revealed, that he should proceed out of his Loins, and arise out of the Jewish Nation, though both *Jew* and *Gentile* should be made happy by him. To his Grandchild *Jacob* God made known out of what Tribe of that Nation he should rise, the Tribe of *Judah*; and what would be the time of his appearing, viz. the departure of the Sceptre from *Judah*, the abrogation of the Civil and Legislative power of that Tribe and People (accomplished in *Hierod the Idumean*, set over them by the *Roman* power.) And this is all we find concerning him under that Oeconomy: Under the Legal Dispensation we find *Moses* foretelling one main errand of his coming, which was to be the great Prophet of the Church, to whom *Deut. 18. 15-18* all were to hearken as an extraordinary person sent from God to acquaint the World with the Counsels and the Laws of Heaven. The next news we hear from him is from *David*, who was told that he should spring out of his house and family, and who frequently speaks of his sufferings, and the particular manner of his death, by piercing his hands and his feet, of his powerful Resurrection, that *God would not leave his Soul in Hell, nor suffer his holy one to see corruption*, of his triumphant Ascent into Heaven, and glorious session at *God's right hand*. From the Prophet *Isaiah* we have an account of the extraordinary and miraculous manner of his Birth, that he should

*Psalms 22. 13.
Psalms 16. 10.
Psalms 68. 18.
Psalms 110. 1.
Isaiah 7. 14.*

— 61. 1, 2.
— 53. 1, 2, 3.
— 67.

Mic. 5. 2.

Dan. 9. 24. 26.

should be born of a *Virgin*, and his name be *Immanuel*, of his incomparable furniture of gifts and graces for the execution of his office, of the entertainment he was to meet with in the World, and of the nature and design of those sufferings which he was to undergo. The place of his Birth was foretold by *Micah*, which was to be *Bethlehem-Ephrathah*, the least of the Cities of *Judah*, but honoured above all the rest with the nativity of a Prince, who was to be *Ruler in Israel*, whose goings forth had been from everlasting. Lastly, the Prophet *Daniel* fixes the particular period of his coming, expressly affirming, That the *Messiah* should appear in the World, and be cut off as a Victim and expiation for the sins of the people at the expiration of *LXX.* prophetic Weeks, or *COCCXC.* Years, which accordingly punctually came to pass.

2. FOR the date of the prophetick Scriptures concerning the time of the *Messiah's* coming being now run out, In the fulness of time God sent his Son made of a Woman, made under the Law, to redeem them that were under the Law : This being the truth of which God spake by the mouth of all his holy Prophets, which have been since the World began. But because it was not fit that so great a Person should come into the World, without an eminent Harbinger to introduce and usher in his Arrival, God had promised that he would send his Messenger, who should prepare his way before him, even *Elijah* the Prophet, whom he would send before the coming of that great day of the Lord, who should turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, &c. This was particularly accomplished in *John the Baptist*, who came in the power and spirit of *Elias*. He was the Morning-star to the Son of Righteousness, *μῆ-γας καὶ ἐν ἀγῶσι. ὁ πρὸ ἑσπερος*, as St. Cyril says of him, the great and eminent Fore-runner, a Person remarkable upon several accounts. First, for the extraordinary circumstances of his Nativity, his Birth foretold by an Angel, sent on purpose to deliver this joyfull Message, a sign God intended him for great undertakings, this being never done but where God designed the Person for some uncommon services; his Parents aged, and though both righteous before God, yet hitherto Childless; Heaven does not dispense all its bounty to the same Person, Children, though great and desirable blessings, are yet often denied to those, for whom God has otherwise very dear regards. *Elizabeth* was barren, and they were both well stricken in years. But is any thing too hard for the Lord? said God to *Abraham* in the same case; God has the Key of the Womb in his own keeping, it is one of the Divine Prerogatives, that he makes the barren Woman to keep house, and to be a joyfull Mother of Children. A Son is promised, and mighty things said of him : a promise which old *Zachary* had scarce faith enough to digest, and therefore had the assurance of it sealed to him by a miraculous dumbness imposed upon him till it was made good, the same Miracle at once confirming his faith, and punishing his inidelity. Accordingly his Mother conceived with Child, and as it he would doe part of his errand before he was born, he leaped in her Womb at her salutation of the Virgin *Mary*, then newly conceived with Child of our Blessed Saviour; a piece of homage paid by one, to one, yet unborn.

3. THESE Presages were not vain and fallible, but produced a Person no less memorable for the admirable strictness and austerity of his life. For having escaped *Herod's* butcherly and merciless Executioners (the Divine Providence being a shelter and a cover to him) and been educated among the rudenesses and solitudes of the Wilderness, his manners and way of life were very agreeable to his Education. His Garments borrowed from no other Wardrobe than the backs of his Neighbour-creatures, the skins of Beasts,

Camels

Camels hair, and a *Leathern girdle*, and herein he literally made good the character of *Elias*, who is described as an hairy man, girt with a *Leathern girdle about his Loins*. His Diet suitable to his Garb, his Meat was *Locusts* and wild *Honey* : *Locusts*, accounted by all Nations among the meanest and vilest sorts of food; wild *Honey*, such as the natural artifice and labour of the Bees had stored up in caverns and hollow Trees, without any elaborate curiosity to prepare and dress it up. Indeed his abstinence was so great, and his food so unlike other Mens, that the Evangelist says of him, that he came neither eating nor drinking, as if he had eaten nothing, or at least what was worth nothing. But Meat commends us not to God; it is the devout mind, and the honest life that makes us valuable in the eye of Heaven. The place of his abode was not in Kings houses, in stately and delicate Palaces, but where he was born and bred, the Wilderness of *Judea*, he was in the Deserts untill the time of his shewing unto *Israel*. Divine Grace is not confined to particular places, it is not the holy City, or the Temple at Mount *Sion* makes us nearer unto Heaven; God can, when he please, consecrate a Defart into a Church, make us gather Grapes among Thorns, and Religion become fruitful in a barren Wilderness. Luke 1. 80.

4. PREPARED by so singular an Education, and furnished with an immediate Commission from God, he entred upon the actual administration of his Office : In those days came *John the Baptist*, preaching in the Wilderness of *Judea*, and saying, Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. He was *ἡ προπύργος τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν οὐρανῶν*, as *Justin Martyr* calls him, the Herald to proclaim the first approach of the Holy *Jesús*, his whole Ministry tending to prepare the way to his entertainment, accomplishing herein what was of old foretold concerning him, For this is he that was spoken of by the Prophet *Esaías*, saying, The Voice of one crying in the Wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. He told the Jews, that the *Messiah* whom they had so long expected was now at hand, and his Kingdom ready to appear, that the Son of God was come down from Heaven, a Person as far beyond him in dignity, as in time and existence, to whom he was not worthy to minister in the meanest Offices; that he came to introduce a new and better state of things, to enlighten the World with the clearest Revelations of the Divine Will, and to acquaint them with counsels brought from the bosome of the Father, to put a period to all the types and umbrages of the *Mosaic* Dispensation, and bring in the truth and substance of all those shadows, and to open a Fountain of grace and fullness to Mankind; to remove that state of guilt into which humane nature was so deeply sunk, and as the Lamb of God by the expiatory Sacrifice of himself to take away the sin of the World, not like the continual Burnt-offering, the Lamb offered Morning and Evening only for the sins of the House of *Israel*, but for *Jew* and *Geniile*, *Barbarian* and *Scythian*, bond and free : he told them, that God had a long time born with the sins of Men, and would now bring things to a quicker issue, and that therefore they should doe well to break off their sins by repentance, and by a serious amendment and reformation of life dispose themselves for the glad tidings of the Gospel; that they should no longer bear up themselves upon their external privileges, the Fatherhood of *Abraham*, and their being God's select and peculiar People, that God would raise up to himself another Generation, a Posterity of *Abraham* from among the *Geniiles*, who should walk in his steps, in the way of his unshaken Faith, and sincere obedience; and that if all this did not move them to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, the Axe was laid to the root of the Tree, to extirpate their Church, and to hew them down as fewel for the unquenchable Fire.

His

His free and resolute preaching together with the great severity of his life procured him a vast Auditory, and numerous Profelytes, for *there went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judea, and the Region round about Jordan*, Persons of all Ranks and Orders, of all Sects and Opinions, *Pharisees and Sadducees, Souldiers and Publicans*, whose vices he impartially censured and condemned, and pressed upon them the duties of their particular places and relations. Those whom he gained over to be Profelytes to his Doctrine, he entred into this new Institution of life by *Baptism* (and hence he derived his Title of the *Baptist*) a solemn and usual way of initiating Profelytes, no less than Circumcision, and of great antiquity in the *Jewish Church*. In all times (says *Maimonides*) if any Gentile would enter into Covenant, remain under the wings of the *Schechina*, or Divine Majesty, and take upon him the yoke of the Law, he is bound to have *מילה וריצות קרבן*, Circumcision, Baptism, and a Peace-offering: and if a Woman, Baptism, and an Oblation, because it is said, *As ye are, so shall the Stranger be; as ye your selves entred into Covenant by Circumcision, Baptism, and a Peace-offering, so ought the Profelyte also in all Ages to enter in*. Though this last he confesses is to be omitted during their present state of desolation, and to be made when their Temple shall be rebuilt. This Rite they generally make contemporary with the giving of the Law. So *Maimonides*, By three things (says he) the *Israelites entred into Covenant* (he means the National Covenant at Mount *Sinai*) by Circumcision, Baptism, and an Oblation; Baptism being used some little time before the Law; which he proves from that place, *Sanctify the people to day and to morrow, and let them wash their Clothes*. This the *Rabbins* unanimously expound concerning Baptism, and expressly affirm, that where-ever we read of the *Washing of Clothes*, there an obligation to Baptism is intended. Thus they entred into the first Covenant, upon the frequent violations whereof God having promised to make a new and solemn Covenant with them in the times of the *Messiah*, they expected a second Baptism, as that which should be the Rite of their initiation into it. And this probably is the reason, why the Apostle writing to the *Hebrews*, speaks of the *Doctrine of Baptisms* (in the plural number) as one of the primary and elementary Principles of the Faith, wherein the *Catechumens* were to be instructed; meaning that besides the Baptism whereby they had been initiated into the *Mosaic Covenant*, there was another by which they were to enter into this new Oeconomy, that was come upon the World. Hence the *Sanhedrim* (to whom the cognizance of such cases did peculiarly appertain) when told of *John's Baptism*, never expressed any wonder at it, as a new upstart Ceremony, it being a thing daily practised in their Church, nor found fault with the thing it self, which they supposed would be a federal Rite under the dispensation of the *Messiah*, but only quarrelled with him for taking upon him to administer it, when yet he denied himself to be one of the prime Ministers of this new state. They said unto him, *Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that Prophet?* Either of which had he owned himself, they had not questioned his right to enter Profelytes by this way of Baptism. It is called the *Baptism of Repentance*, this being the main qualification that he required of those, who took it upon them, as the fittest means to dispose them to receive the Doctrine and Discipline of the *Messiah*; and to entitle them to that pardon of sin which the Gospel brought along with it; whence he is said to baptize in the *Wilderness*, and to preach the *Baptism of Repentance, for the remission of sins*. And the success was answerable, infinite Multitudes flocking to it, and were baptized of him in *Jordan*, confessing their sins. Nor is it the least part of his happiness, that he had the honour to baptize his Sa-

Maim. Hif. Biah. cap. 13. vid. Jac. Alcing. Differt. Philist. Vill. de Profelyt. Sect. 25. p. 245. Numb. 15. 10.

Hid. Sect. 24. p. 248.

Exod. 10. 10. Vid. R. Bechal. fol. 87. col. 2. ibid.

Hebr. 6. 2.

John 1. 25.

Mark 1. 4.

viour, which though modestly declined, our Lord put upon him, and was accompanied with the most signal and miraculous attestations which Heaven could bestow upon it.

5. AFTER his Preparatory Preaching in the *Wilderness* he was called to Court by *Herod*, at least he was his frequent Auditor, was much delighted with his plain and impartial Sermons, and had a mighty reverence for him, the gravity of his Person, the strictness of his Manners, the freedom of his Preaching commanding an awe and veneration from his Confidence, and making him willing in many things to reform; But the bluntness of the holy Man came nearer, and touched the King in the tenderest part, smartly reproving his adultery and incestuous embraces, for that Prince kept *Herodias* his Brother *Philip's* Wife. And now all corrupt interests were awakened to conspire his ruine. Extravagant Lusts love not to be controll'd and check'd, *Herodias* resents the affront, cannot brook disturbance in the pleasures of her Bed, or the open challenging of her honour, and therefore by all the arts of Feminine subtilty meditates revenge. The issue was, the *Baptist* is cast into Prison, as the *proludium* to a sadder fate. For among other pleasures and scenes of mirth performed upon the King's Birth-day, *Herod* being infinitely pleased with the dancing of a young Lady, Daughter of this *Herodias*, promised to give her Her request, and solemnly ratified his promise with an Oath. She, prompted by her Mother, asks the Head of *John the Baptist*, which the King, partly out of a pretended reverence to his Oath, partly out of a desire not to be interrupted in his unlawfull pleasures, presently granted, and it was as quickly accomplished. Thus died the Holy man, a man strict in his conversation beyond the ordinary measures of an Anchorer, bold and resolute, faithfull and impartial in his Office, indued with the power and spirit of *Elias*, a burning and a shining light, under whose light the *Jews* rejoiced to sit, exceedingly taken with his temper and principles. He was the happy Messenger of the Evangelical tidings, and in that respect more than a Prophet, a greater not arising among them that were born of Women. In short, he was a man loved of his Friends, revered and honoured by his Enemies; *Josephus* gives this character of him, that he was a good man, and pressed the *Antiquit. Jud. Jews* to the study of virtue, to the practice of piety towards God, and justice and lib. 18. cap. 7. righteousest towards men, and to joy themselves in his Baptism, which he told them would then become effectual, and acceptable to God, when they did not only cleanse the body, but purify the mind by godness and virtue. And though he gives somewhat a different account of *Herod's* condemning him to die, from what is assigned in the Sacred History, yet he confesses, that the *Jews* universally looked upon the putting him to death as the cause of the miscarriage of *Herod's* Army, and an evident effect of the Divine vengeance and displeasure. The *Jews* in their Writings make honourable mention of his being put to death by *Herod*, because reproving him for the company of his Brother *Philip's* Wife, styling him *Rabbi Johanan the High-priest*, and reckoning him one of the wise men of *Israel*. Where he is called *High-priest*, probably with respect to his being the Son of *Zachariah*, a Head or Chief of one of the XXIV. Families or courses of the Priests, who are many times called Chief or High priests in Scripture.

6. THE Evangelical state being thus proclaimed and ushered in by the Preaching and Ministry of the *Baptist*, our Lord himself appeared next more fully to publish and confirm it, concerning whose Birth, Life, Death and Resurrection, the Doctrine he delivered, the Persons he deputed to Preach and convey it to the World, and its success by the Ministry of the Apostles, large and particular accounts are given in the following work. That which may be proper

Zonach David Part. 1. ad Ann. 770. Millen. 4. by Chron. Tempit found. fol. 54. col. 4.

proper and material to observe in this place is, what the Scripture so frequently takes notice of, the excellency of this above the preceding dispensations, especially that brought in by *Moses*, so much magnified in the Old Testament; and so passionately admired and adhered to by the *Jews* at this day. *Jesus is the Mediator*, *μεσσῑας διασω̄ς*, as the Apostle calls it, of a better Covenant. And better it is in several regards; besides the infinite difference between the Persons, who were employed to introduce and settle them, *Moses* and our Lord. The preeminence eminently appears in many instances, whereof we shall remark the most considerable. And first, the *Mosaic* dispensation was almost wholly made up of types and shadows, the *Evangelical* has brought in the truth and substance, *The Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ*. Their Ordinances were but shadows of good things to come, sensible representations of what was to follow after, *the Body is Christ*, and all their Expiatory Sacrifices did but represent that great Sacrifice whereby *Christ* offered up himself, and by his own blood purged away the sins of mankind, indeed the most minute and inconsiderable circumstances of the Legal Economy were intended as little lights, that might gradually usher in the state of the Gospel. A curious Artificer that designs a famous and excellent piece is not wont to complete and finish it all at once, but first with his Pencil draws some rude lines and rough draughts before he puts his last hand to it. By such a method the wife God seems to have delivered the first draughts and Images of those things by *Moses* to the Church, the substance and perfection whereof he designed should be brought in by *Christ*. And how admirably did God herein condescend to the temper and humour of that people; for being of a more rough and childish disposition, apt to be taken with gaudy and sensible objects, by the external and pompous institutions of the Ceremonial Dispensation he prepared them for better things, as children are brought on by things accommodate to their weak capacities. The Church was then an *heir under age*, and was to be trained up in such a way, as agreed best with its Infant-temper, till it came to be of a more ripe manly age, able to digest Evangelical mysteries, and then the cover and the veil was taken off, and things made to appear in their own form and shape.

7. HENCE in the next place appears our happiness above them, that we are redeemed from those many severe and burthenome impositions wherewith they were clogg'd, and are now obliged onely to a more easie and reasonable service. That the Law was a very grievous and servile Dispensation, is evident to any that considers, how much it consisted of carnal ordinances, costly duties, chargeable sacrifices, and innumerable little Rites and Ceremonies. Under that state they were bound to undergo (yea even new-born Infants) the bloody and painfull Ceremony of Circumcision, to abstain from many sorts of food, usefull and pleasant to man's life, to keep multitudes of solemn and stated times, new Moons, and Ceremonial Sabbaths, to take long and tedious journeys to *Jerusalem* to offer their sacrifices at the Temple, to observe daily washings and purifications, to use infinite care and caution in every place; for if by chance they did but touch an unclean thing, besides their present confinement, it put them to the expences of a sacrifice, with hundreds more troublesome and costly observances required of them. A cruel bondage, *heavy burthens, and grievous to be born*; under the weight whereof good men did then groan, and earnestly breathe after

the

the time of reformation; the very Apostles complained that it was a yoke upon their necks, which neither their Fathers nor they were able to bear. But this yoke is taken off from our shoulders, and the way open into the liberties of the children of God. The Law bore a heavy hand over them, as children in their minority, we are got from under the rod and lash of its tutorage and Pedagogy, and are no more subject to the severity of its commands, to the exact punctilio's and numerousness of its impositions. Our Lord has removed that low and troublesome Religion, and has brought in a more manly and rational way of worship, more suitable to the perfections of God, and more accommodate to the reason and understandings of men. A Religion incomparably the wisest and the best that ever took place in the World. God did not settle the Religion of the *Jews*, and their way of worship, because good and excellent in it self, but for its suitableness to the temper of that people. Happy we, whom the Gospel has freed from those intolerable observances to which they were obliged, and has taught us to serve God in a better way, more easie and acceptable, more humane and natural, and in which we are helped forwards by greater aids of Divine assistance, than were afforded under that Dispensation. All which conspire to render our way smooth and plain, *Take my yoke upon you, for my yoke is easie, and my burthen is light*.

8. THIRDLY, the Dispensation of the Gospel is founded upon more noble and excellent promises: *A better Covenant established upon better promises*. And better promises they are both for the nature and clearness of their revelation. They are of a more sublime and excellent nature, as being promises of spiritual and eternal things, such as immediately concern the perfection and happiness of mankind, grace, peace, pardon and eternal life. The Law strictly considered as a particular Covenant with the *Jews* at Mount *Sinai* had no other promises but of temporal blessings, plenty and prosperity, and the happiness of this life. This was all that appeared above-ground, and that was expressly held forth in that transaction, whatever might otherwise be by due inferences, and proportions of reason be deduced from it. Now this was a great defect in that Dispensation, it being by this means, considering the nature and disposition of that people, and the use they would make of it, apt to intangle and debase the minds of men, and to arrest their thoughts and desires in the pursuit of more sublime and better things. I do not say but that under the Old Testament there were promises of spiritual things, and of eternal happiness, as appears from *David's Psalms*, and some passages in the Books of the Prophets: But then these though they were under the Law, yet they were not of the Law, that is, did not properly belong to it as a legal Covenant; God in every age of the *Jewish* Church raising up some extraordinary persons, who preached notions to the people above the common standard of that Dispensation, and who spoke things more plainly, by how much nearer they approached the times of the *Messiah*. But under the Christian Economy the promises are evidently more pure and spiritual; not a temporal *Canaan*, external prosperity, or pardon of ceremonial uncleanness, but remission of sins, reconciliation with God, and everlasting life are proposed and offered to us. Not but that in some measure temporal blessings are promised to us as well as them, onely with this difference, to them earthly blessings were pledges of spiritual, to us spiritual blessings are enurances of temporal, so far as the Divine wisdom sees fit for us. Nor are they better in themselves, than they are clearly discovered and revealed to us. Whatever spiritual blessings were proposed under the former state were obscure and dark, and very few of the people understood them: But to us the veil is taken off, and we behold the glory of the Lord with open face, especially the things

1 John 2. 25.
2 Tim. 1. 10.

that relate to another World; for *this is the promise that he hath promised us, even Eternal life.* Hence our Lord is said to have brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel. Which he may be justly said to have done, inasmuch as he has given the greatest certainty, and the clearest account of that state. He hath given us the greatest assurance and certainty of the thing, that there is such a state. The happiness of the other World was a notion not so firmly agreed upon either amongst the *Jews* or *Gentiles*. Among the *Jews* it was peremptorily denied by the *Sadducees*, a considerable Sect in that Church, which we can hardly suppose they would have done, had it been clearly propounded in the Law of *Moses*. And among the *Heathens* the most sober and considering persons did at some times at least doubt of it, witness that confession of *Socrates* himself, the wisest and best man that ever was in the Heathen World, who when he came to plead his cause before his Judges, and had bravely discoursed of the happy state of good men in the other Life, plainly confessed, that he could be content *πρόδωκεν τὸν δόξαναι*, to die a thousand times over, were he but assured that those things were true; and, being condemned, concludes his *Apologie* with this farewell, *And now, Gentlemen, I am going off the stage, it's your lot to live, and mine to die, but whether of us two shall fare better, is ἀδελφὸν παντὶ πᾶσι ἡ τοῖς Θεοῖς*, unknown to any but to God alone. But our blessed Saviour has put the case past all peradventure, having plainly published this doctrine to the World, and sealed the truth of it, and that by raising others from the dead, and especially by his own Resurrection and Ascension, which were the highest pledge and assurance of a future Immortality. But besides the security, he hath given the clearest account of the nature of it. 'Tis very probable that the *Jews* generally had of old, as 'tis certain they have at this day, the most gross and carnal apprehensions concerning the state of another Life. But to us the Gospel has perspicuously revealed the invisible things of the other World: told us what that Heaven is, which is promised to good men, a state of spiritual joys, of chaste and rational delights, a conformity of ours to the Divine Nature, a being made like to God, and an endless and uninterrupted Communion with him.

9. BUT because in our lapsed and degenerate state we are very unable without some foreign assistance to attain the promised rewards, hence arises in the next place another great privilege of the Evangelical Oeconomy, that it is blessed with larger and more abundant communications of the Divine Spirit, than was afforded under the *Jewish* state. Under the one it was given by *drops*, under the other it was *poured forth*. The Law laid heavy and hard commands, but gave little strength to do them, it did not assist humane nature with those powerfull aids that are necessary for us in our present state, it could do nothing in that it was weak through the flesh, and by reason of the weakness and unprofitableness thereof, it could make nothing perfect: 'Twas this made it an heavy yoke, when the commands of it were uncouth and troublesome, and the assistences so small and inconsiderable. Whereas now the Gospel does not onely prescribe such Laws as are happily accommodate to the true temper of humane nature, and adapted to the reason of mankind, such as every wise and prudent man must have pitched upon, but it affords the influences of the Spirit of God, by whose assistance our vitiated faculties are repaired, and we enabled under so much weakness, and in the midst of so many temptations to hold on in the paths of piety and virtue. Hence it is that the plentiful effusions of the Spirit were reserved as the great blessing of the Evangelical state, that God would then *pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground*, that he would *pour out his Spirit upon their seed, and his blessing upon their off-spring*, whereby they should *spring up as among the*

*Apolog. Socrat.
ap. Platon. Sest.
22. p. m. 45.
Ib. Sest. 23. ad
fin. Apol.*

Rom. 8. 3.
Heb. 7. 12.

Isai. 44. 3. 4.

grass,

grass, as willows by the water-courses: That he would give them a new heart, and put his Spirit within them, and cause them to walk in his statutes, and keep his judgments to do them: And this is the meaning of those branches of the Covenant so oft repeated, *I will put my Law into their minds, and write it in their hearts*, that is, by the help of my Grace and Spirit I'll enable them to live according to my Laws, as readily and willingly, as if they were written in their hearts. For this reason the Law is compared to a dead letter, the Gospel to the Spirit that giveth life, thence styled the *ministration of the Spirit*, 2 Cor. 3. 6, 7. and as such said to exceed in glory, and that to such a degree, that what glory the Legal Dispensation had in this case is eclipsed into nothing. For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth, for if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious. Hence the Spirit is said to be *Christ's* peculiar mission, *I will pray the Father, and he will send you another comforter, even the Spirit of truth*, which was done immediately after his Ascension, when he ascended up on high, and gave gifts to men, even the Holy Ghost which he shed on them abundantly through *Jesus Christ* our Saviour: For the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that *Jesus was not yet glorified*. Not but that he was given before, even under the old Oeconomy, but not in those large and diffusive measures, wherein it was afterwards communicated to the World.

10. FIFTHLY, The Dispensation of the Gospel had a better establishment and confirmation than that of the Law; for though the Law was introduced with great scenes of pomp and Majesty, yet was the Gospel ushered in by more kindly and rational methods, ratified by more and greater miracles, whereby our Lord unquestionably evinced his Divine Commission, and shewed that he came from God, doing more miracles in three years than were done through all the periods of the *Jewish* Church, and many of them such as were peculiar to him alone. He often raised the dead, which *Moses* never did, commanded the winds and waves of the Sea, expelled Devils out of *Lunatics* and possessed persons, who fled as soon as ever he commanded them to be gone, cured many inveterate and chronicall distempers with the speaking of a word, and some without a word spoken, virtue silently going out from him. He searched mens hearts, and revealed the most secret transactions of their minds; had this miraculous power always residing in him, and could exert it when, and upon what occasions he pleased, and impart it to others, communicating it to his Apostles and followers, and to the Primitive Christians for the three first Ages of the Church; he never exerted it in methods of dread and terror, but in doing such miracles as were highly usefull and beneficial to the World. And as if all this had not been enough, he laid down his own life after all to give testimony to it. Covenants were ever wont to be ratified with blood, and the death of sacrifices. But when our Lord came to introduce the Covenant of the Gospel, he did not consecrate it with the blood of Bulls and Goats, but with his own most precious blood, as of a Lamb without spot and blemish. And could he give a greater testimony to the truth of his doctrine, and those great things he had promised to the World, than to seal it with his blood? Had not these things been so, 'twere infinitely unreasonable to suppose, that a person of so much wisdom and goodness as our Saviour was, should have made the World believe so, and much less would he have chosen to die for it, and that the most acute and ignominious death. But he died and rose again for us, and appeared after his Resurrection: His enemies had taken him away by a most bitter and cruel death, had guarded and secured his Sepulchre with all the care, power and diligence which they could invent. And yet he

f 3

rofe

Ezek. 36. 26, 27.

2 Cor. 3. 6, 7.

Verse 10, 11.

I Joh. 14. 16, 17.
Ephes. 4. 8.
Tit. 3. 5.

John 7. 39.

Rom. I. 4.

rose again the third day in triumph, visibly conversed with his Disciples for forty days together, and then went to Heaven. By which he gave the most solemn and certain assurance to the World, that he was the Son of God *God* *himself* *declared to be the Son of God with power by the Resurrection from the Dead*, and the Saviour of mankind, and that those doctrines which he had taught were most true, and did really contain the terms of that solemn transaction, which God by him had offered to men in order to their eternal happiness in another World.

11. **T**he last influence I shall note of the excellency of this above the *Mosaic Dispensation*, is the universal extent and latitude of it, and that both in respect of place and time. First, it is more universally extensive as to place, not confined as the former was to a small part of mankind, but common unto all. Heretofore in *Judah* only was God known, and his name was great in *Israel*, he shewed his Word unto *Jacob*, his Statutes and his Judgments unto *Israel*; but he did not deal so with any other Nation, neither had the *Heathen* knowledge of his Laws. In those times Salvation was only of the Jews, a few Acres of Land like *Gideon's Fleece* were watered with the dew of Heaven while all the rest of the World for many Ages lay dry and barren round about it, God suffering all Nations in times past to walk in their own ways, the ways of their own Superstition and Idolatry, being aliens from the Commonwealth of *Israel*, strangers from the Covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the World, that is, they were without those promises, discoveries and declarations which God made to *Abraham* and his Seed, and are therefore peculiarly described under this character, *the Gentiles which knew not God*. Indeed the Religion of the Jews was in it self incapable to be extended over the World, many considerable parts of it, as Sacrifices, First-fruits, Oblations, &c. (called by the Jews themselves *עֲצוֹת חַוִּיתִּים*, statutes belonging to that land) being to be performed at *Jerusalem* and the Temple, which could not be done by those Nations that lay a considerable distance from the Land of promise. They had, it is true, now and then some few Proselytes of the *Gentiles*, who came over and imbodyed themselves into their way of worship; but then they either resided among the Jews, or by reason of their vicinity to *Judaea* were capable to make their personal appearance, and to comply with the publick Institutions of the Divine Law. Other Proselytes they had, called Proselytes of the Gate, who lived dispersed in all Countries, whom the Jews call *גרִּמְזוּרִי*, the pious of the Nations, Men of devout minds and Religious lives, but these were obliged to no more than the observation of the Seven Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*, that is in effect, to the Precepts of the Natural Law. But now the Gospel has a much wider sphere to move in, as vast and large as the whole World it self; it is communicable to all Countries, and may be exercised in any part or corner of the Earth. Our Lord gave Commission to his Apostles to go into all Nations, and to Preach the Gospel to every Creature; and so they did, their sound went into all the Earth, and their words unto the ends of the World, by which means, the Grace of God that brings salvation appeared unto all men, and the Gospel was Preached unto every Creature under Heaven. So that now there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but we are all one in *Christ Jesus*, and in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. The Prophet had long since foretold it of the times of *Christ*, that the House of God, that is, his Church should be called an House of Prayer for all People; the Doors should be open, and none excluded that would enter in. And the Divine providence was singularly remarkable in this affair, that after our Lord's Ascension, when the Apostles were

going

Mark 16. 15.
Rom. 10. 18.
Tit. 2. 11.
Coloff. 1. 13.
Galat. 3. 28.

Acts 10. 35.

Esaï. 46. 7.

going upon their Commission, and were first solemnly to proclaim it at *Jerusalem*, there were dwelling there at that time *Parthians, Medes, Elamites*, &c. persons out of *every Nation under Heaven*, that they might be as the first-fruits of those several Countries, which were to be gathered in by the preaching of the Gospel, which was accordingly done with great success, the Christian Religion in a few years spreading its triumphant Banners over the greatest part of the then known World.

12. AND as the true Religion was in those days pent up within one particular Country, so the more publick and ordinary worship of God was confined onely to one particular place of it, viz. *Jerusalem*, hence called the *Holy City*. Here was the Temple, here the Priests that ministered at the *Altar*, here all the more publick Solemnities of Divine adoration, *Thither the Tribes go up, the Tribes of the Lord unto the Testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the Name of the Lord*. Now this was not the least part of the bondage of that dispensation, to be obliged three every Year to take such long and tedious journeys, many of the *Jews* living some Hundreds of Miles distance from *Jerusalem*, and so strictly were they limited to this place, that to build an *Altar*, and offer Sacrifices in any other place (unless in a cave or two wherein God did extraordinarily dispense) although it were to the true God, was, though not false, yet unwarrantable worship; for which reason the *Jews* at this day abstain from Sacrifices, because banished from *Jerusalem* and the Temple, the onely legal place of offering. But behold the liberty of the Gospel in this case, we are not tied to present our devotions at *Jerusalem*, a pious and sincere mind is the best Sacrifice that we can offer up to God, and this may be done in any part of the World no less acceptably, than they of old sacrificed in the Temple. *The bear cometh, when ye shall neither in this Mountain (Mount Gerizim) nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth*, as our Lord told the Woman of *Samarita*; *in spirit and in truth*] *in spirit*, in opposition to that carnal and Idolatrous worship that was in use among the *Samaritans*, who worshipped God under the representation of a Dove: *in truth*, in opposition to the typical and figurative worship of the *Jews*, which was but a shadow of the true worship of the Gospel. The great Sacrifice required in the Christian Religion is not the fat of Beasts, or the first-fruits of the Ground, but an honest heart, and a pious life, and a grateful acknowledgment of our dependence upon God in the publick Solemnities of his praise and worship. For the Law and the Gospel did not differ in this, that the one commanded publick worship the other not, but that under the one publick worship was fixed to one onely place, under the other it is free to any where the providence of God has placed us, it being part of the duty bound upon us by natural and unalterable obligations, that we should publickly meet together for the solemn Celebration of the Divine honour and service.

13. NOR is the Economy of the Gospel less extensive in time than place; the Old Testament was only a temporary dispensation, that of the Gospel is to last to the end of the World; the Law was to continue only for a little time, the Gospel is an Everlasting Covenant; the one to be quickly antiquated and abolished, the other never to be done away by any other to succeed it. The Jews indeed stickle hard for the perpetual and immutable obligation of the Law of *Moses*, and frequently urge us with those places, where the Covenant of Circumcision is called an *Everlasting Covenant*, and God said to chuse the Temple at *Jerusalem* to place his name there for ever, to give the Land of *Canaan* to *Abraham* and his seed for an *everlasting possession*, thus the Law of the *Pactator* is called an *Ordinance for ever*, the command

Οὐ πλουσαμένη
καὶ πειπνυμένη
χαίρει ὁ θεός·
ἀλλ' ἀνυπαίχου
τῇ ἐνδοξασθῆναι
σθένει. Philo de
Spec. Legib. 73 c.

Gen. 17. 7.
1 Kings 9. 3.
Gen. 17. 8.
Exod. 12. 14.
Levit. 22. 13.



TO THE
R E A D E R.

I*T will not, I suppose, seem improbable to the Reader, when I tell him, with how much reluctancy and unwillingness I set upon this undertaking. Besides the disadvantage of having this piece annexed to the Elaborate Book of that excellent Prelate, so great a Master both of Learning and Language, I was intimately conscious to my own unsuitness for such a Work at any time, much more when clogg'd with many habitual Infirmities and Distempers. I considered the difficulty of the thing it self, perhaps not capable of being well managed by a much better Pen than mine; few of the Ancient Monuments of the Church being extant, and little of this nature in those few that are. Indeed I could not but think it reasonable, that all possible honour should be done to those, that first Preached the Gospel of peace, and brought glad tidings of good things, that it was fit men should be taught how much they were obliged to those excellent Persons, who were willing at so dear a rate to plant Christianity in the World, who they were, and what was that Piety and that Patience, that Charity and that Zeal, which made them to be reverenc'd while they liv'd, and their Memo-*

To the READER.

ries ever since to be honourably celebrated through the World, infinitely beyond the glories of Alexander, and the triumphs of a Pompey or a Cæsar. But then how this should be done out of those few imperfect Memoires, that have escaped the general shipwreck of Church-antiquities, and much more by so rude and unskilfull a hand as mine, appear'd, I confess, a very difficult task, and next door to impossible. These, with some other considerations, made me a long time obstinately resolve against it, till, being overcome by importunity, I yielded to do it, as I was able, and as the nature of the thing would bear.

T H A T which I primarily designed to my self, was to draw down the History of the New Testament especially from our Lord's death, to enquire into the first Originals and Plantations of the Christian Church by the Ministry of the Apostles, the success of their Doctrine, the power and conviction of their Miracles, their infinite Labours and hardships, and the dreadful Sufferings which they underwent; to consider in what instances of Piety and Virtue they ministered to our imitation, and served the purposes of Religion and an Holy life. Indeed the accounts that are left us of these things are very short and inconsiderable, sufficient possibly to excite the appetite, not to allay the hunger of an importunate Enquirer into these matters. A consideration that might give us just occasion to lament the irreparable loss of those primitive Records, which the injury of time hath deprived us of, the substance being gone, and little left us but the shell and carcass. Had we the Writings of Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, and Scholar, says Irenæus, to S. John, (wherein as himself tells us, he set down what he had learnt from those who had familiarly conversed with the Apostles, the sayings and discourses of Andrew and Peter, of Philip and Thomas, &c.) Had we the Ancient Commentaries of Hegesippus, Clemens Alexandri-

Apud Euseb.
H. Eccl. lib. 3.
c. 35. p. 111.

nus

To the READER.

nus his Institutions, Africanus his Chronography, and some others, the Reader might expect more intire and particular relations. But alas! these are long since perish'd, and little besides the names of them transmitted to us. Nor should we have had most of that little which is left us, had not the commendable care and industry of Eusebius preserv'd it to us. And if he complain'd in his time (when those Writings were extant) that towards the composing of his History he had only some few particular accounts here and there left by the Ancients of their times; what cause have we to complain, when even those little portions have been raviish'd from us? So that he that would build a work of this nature, must look upon himself as condemn'd to a kind of Egyptian Task, to make Brick without Straw, at least to pick it up where he can find it, though after all it amounts to a very slender parcel. Which as it greatly binders the beauty and completeness of the structure, so does it exceedingly multiply the labour and difficulty. For by this means I have been forc'd to gather up those little fragments of Antiquity, that lie dispers'd in the Writings of the Ancients, thrown some into this corner, and others into that: which I have at length put together, like the pieces of a broken Statue, that it might have at least some kind of resemblance of the person, whom it designs to represent.

Hist. Eccl. lib. 1.
c. 2. p. 4.

H A D I thought good to have traded in idle and frivolous Antiquities, Abdias Babylonius, the Passions of Peter and Paul, Joachim Perionius, Peter de Natalibus, and such like, I might have presented the Reader with a larger, not a better account. But besides the averseness of my nature to falsehoods and trifles, especially in matters wherein the honour of the Christian Religion is concern'd, I knew the World to be wiser at this time of day, than to be imposed upon by Pious frauds, and cheated with Ecclesiastical Romances and Legendary Reports. For this reason

To the READER.

son I have more fully and particularly insisted upon the *Lives* of the two first Apostles, so great a part of them being secur'd by an unquestionable Authority, and have presented the larger portions of the Sacred History, many times to very minute circumstances of action. And I presume the wise and judicious Reader will not blame me, for chusing rather to enlarge upon a story, which I knew to be infallibly true, than to treat him with those, which there was cause enough to conclude to be certainly false.

THE Reader will easily discern that the *Antiquaries* I make use of are not all of the same rank and size. Some of them are Divinely inspir'd, whose Authority is Sacred, and their reports rendred not onely credible, but unquestionable, by that infallible and unerring Spirit that presided over them. Others such, of whose faith and testimony, especially in matters of fact, there is no just cause to doubt, I mean the genuine Writings of the Ancient Fathers, or those, which though unduly assign'd to this or that particular Father, are yet generally allowed to be Ancient, and their credit not to be despis'd, because their proper Parent is not certainly known. Next these come the Writers of the middle and later Ages of the Church, who though below the former in point of credit, have yet some particular advantages that recommend them to us. Such I account Symeon Metaphrastes, Nicephorus Callistus, the *Menæa* and *Menologies* of the Greek Church, &c. wherein though we meet with many vain and improbable stories, yet may we also rationally expect some real and substantial accounts of things, especially seeing they had the advantage of many Ancient and Ecclesiastick Writers, extant in their times, which to us are utterly lost. Though even these too I have never called in, but in the want of more Ancient and Authentick Writers. As for others, if any passages occur either in themselves of doubtfull and suspected credit, or borrowed from spurious
and

To the READER.

and uncertain *Antiquaries*, they are always introduced or dismissed with some kind of censure or remark, that the most easie and credulous Reader may know what to trust to, and not fear being secretly surpris'd into a belief of doubtfull and fabulous reports. And now after all, I am sufficiently sensible, how lank and thin this Account is, nor can the Reader be less satisfied with it, than I am myself; and I have onely this piece of justice and charity to beg of him, that he would suspend his censure, till he has taken a little pains to enquire into the state of the Times and Things I Write of: And then however he may challenge my prudence in undertaking it, he will not, I hope, see reason to charge me with want of care and faithfulness in the pursuance of it.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

THE Introduction.

The Life of S. Peter.

Of S. Peter, from his Birth, till his first coming to Christ.	Page 1.
Of S. Peter, from his first coming to Christ, till his being call'd to be a Disciple.	7
Of S. Peter, from his Election to the Apostolate, till the confession which he made of Christ.	10
Of S. Peter, from the time of his Confession, till our Lord's last Passover.	14
Of S. Peter, from the last Passover, till the Death of Christ.	20
Of S. Peter, from Christ's Resurrection, till his Ascension.	25
S. Peter's Acts, from our Lord's Ascension, till the dispersion of the Church.	29
Of S. Peter's Acts, from the dispersion of the Church at Jerusalem, till his contest with S. Paul at Antioch.	37
Of S. Peter's Acts, from the End of the Sacred Story, till his Martyrdom.	43
The Character of his Person and Temper, and an account of his Writings.	49
An Enquiry into S. Peter's going to Rome.	54
An Appendix to the foregoing Section.	59

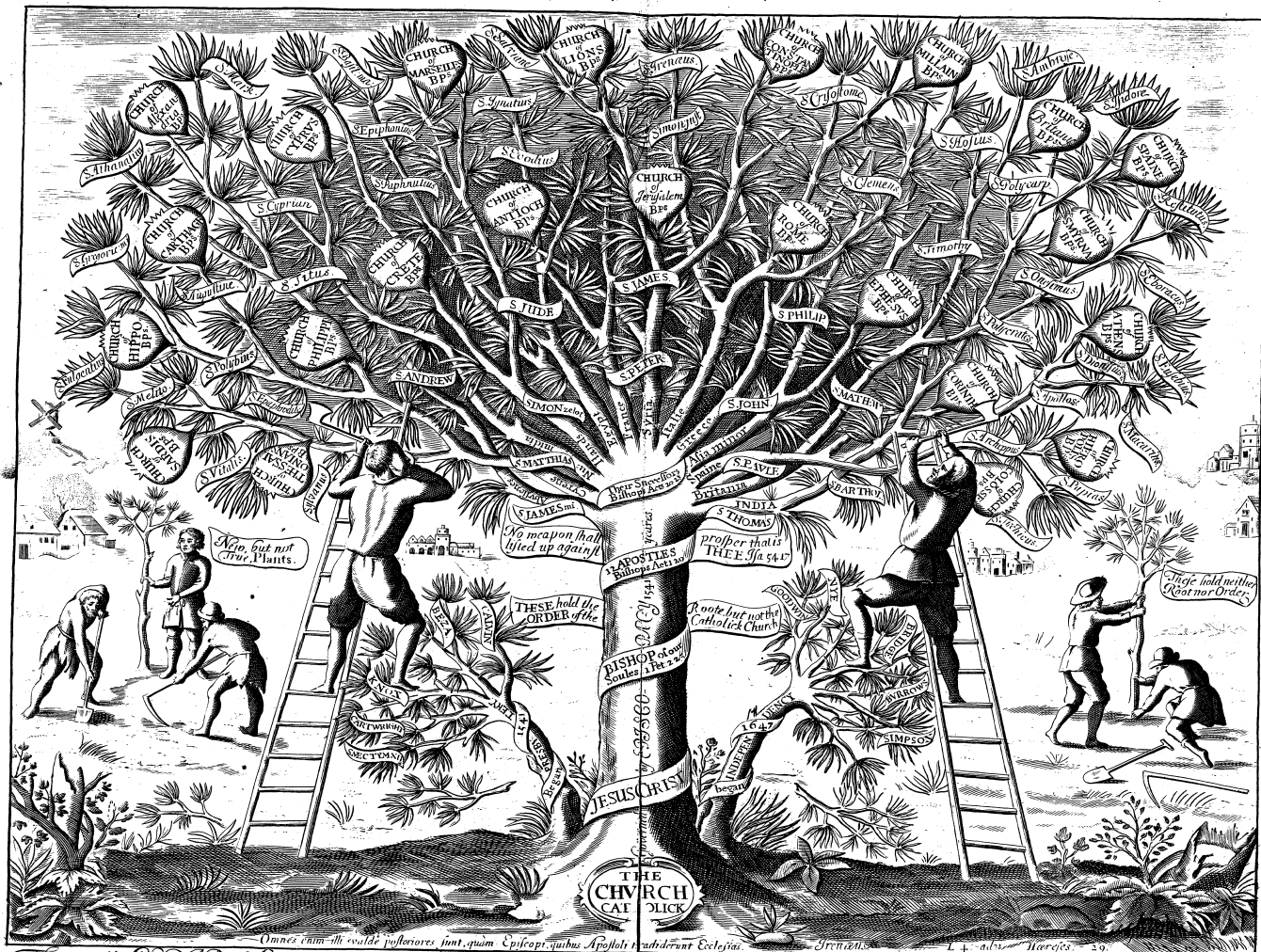
The Life of S. Paul.

Of S. Paul, from his Birth, till his Conversion.	Page 65
--	---------

Of S. Paul, from his Conversion, till the Council at Jerusalem.	71
Of S. Paul, from the time of the Synod at Jerusalem, till his departure from Athens.	77
Of S. Paul's Acts at Corinth and Ephesus.	86
S. Paul's Acts, from his departure from Ephesus, till his Arraignment before Felix.	92
Of S. Paul, from his first Trial before Felix, till his coming to Rome.	99
S. Paul's Acts, from his coming to Rome, till his Martyrdom.	105
The description of his Person and Temper, together with an account of his Writings.	112
The principal Controversies that exercised the Church in his time.	120
The Life of S. Andrew.	Page 135
The Life of S. James the Great.	143
The Life of S. John.	153
The Life of S. Philip.	167
The Life of S. Bartholomew.	173
The Life of S. Matthew.	179
The Life of S. Thomas.	187
The Life of S. James the Less.	193
The Life of S. Simon the Zealot.	201
The Life of S. Jude.	205
The Life of S. Matthias.	211
The Life of S. Mark the Evangelist.	217
The Life of S. Luke the Evangelist.	225

Diptycha Apostolica, Or, an Enumeration of the Apostles, and their Successors for the first three hundred years in the five great Churches said to have been founded by them.

Page 231



Omnes enim illi ecclesie posteriores sunt, quam Episcopi, quibus Apostoli tradiderunt Ecclesiam. *Strenu.* L. 4. ad Rom. Hæretici. 29.

The goodly CEDAR of Apostolick & Catholick EPISCOPACY, compared with the modern shoots & slips of divided NOV. 1788 in the Church before the Introduction of the Apostles Lives. Place this Figure at Page 2.



THE INTRODUCTION.

Christ's faithfulness in appointing Officers in his Church. The dignity of the Apostles above the rest. The importance of the word 'Apostolos'. The nature of the Apostolick Office considered. Respect had in founding it to the custome among the Jews. Their Apostoli, who. The number of the Apostles limited. Why twelve, the several conjectures of the Ancients. Their immediate election. Their work wherein it consisted. The Universality of their Commision. Apostolical Churches, what. How soon the Apostles propagated Christianity through the World. An argument for the Divinity of the Christian Religion infer'd thence. The power conveyed to the Apostles, equally given to all. Peter's superiority over the rest disprov'd both from Scripture and Antiquity. The Apostles how qualified for their Mission. Immediately taught the Doctrine they delivered. Infallibly secur'd from Errour in delivering it. Their constant and familiar converse with their Master. Furnished with the power of working Miracles. The great evidence of it to prove a Divine Doctrine. Miraculous powers conferr'd upon the Apostles particularly considered. Prophecy, what, and when it ceas'd. The gift of discerning Spirits. The gift of Tongues. The gift of Interpretation. The unreasonable practice of the Church of Rome in keeping the Scripture and Divine Worship in an Unknown Tongue. The gift of Healing, greatly advantageous to Christianity: how long it lasted. Power of Immediately inflicting corporal punishments; and the great benefit of it in those times. The Apostles enabled to confer miraculous powers upon others. The Duration of the Apostolical Office. What in it extraordinary, what ordinary. Bishops in what sense styled Apostles.

JESUS CHRIST, the great *Apostle and High-priest* of our Profession, being appointed by God to be the Supreme Ruler and Governour of his Church, was, like *Moses*, faithful in all his house: but with this honourable advantage, that *Moses* was faithful as a *Servant*, *Christ* as a *Son* over his own house, which he erected, established and governed with all possible care and diligence. Nor could he give a greater instance either of his fidelity towards God, or his love and kindness to the Souls of men, than that after he had purchas'd a Family to himself, and could now no longer upon earth manage its interests in his own person, he would not return back to Heaven, till he had constituted several Orders and Officers in his Church, who might superintend and conduct its affairs; and according to the various circumstances of its state, administer to the needs and exigencies of his Family. Accordingly therefore *he gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some*

B
Evan-

Apoll'es Faith, their being choſen by the true *Jeſus* or *Joſhua* at their Bap-
 tiſm in *Jordan*, and their being admitted in the inner Sanctuary of his Co-
 venant. By others we are told that it was ſhadowed out by the twelve Spi-
 rit taken out of every Tribe, and ſent to diſcover the Land of Promise : or by
 the twelve gates of the City in *Ezekiel's* viſion; or by the twelve Bells ap-
 pendent to *Aaron's* garment, * *their ſound going out into all the World, and*
their words unto the ends of the Earth. But it were endleſs, and to very
 little purpoſe to reckon up all the conjectures of this nature, there being
 ſcarce any one number of Twelve mentioned in the Scripture, which is not
 by ſome of the Ancients adapted and applied to this of the Twelve Apol-
 les, wherein an ordinary fancy might eaſily enough pick out a miſtery. That
 which ſeems to put in the moſt rational plea is, that our Lord, being now
 about to form a new ſpiritual Common-wealth, a kind of myſtical *Iſrael*, pitched
 upon this number, in conformity either to the twelve *Patriarchs* as
 founders of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, or to the twelve *apostles*, or chief
 heads, as ſtanding Rulers of thoſe Tribes among the *Jews*, as we ſhall after-
 wards poſſibly more particularly * remark. Thirdly, theſe Apolles were
 immediately called and ſent by *Chriſt* himſelf, elected out of the body of his
 Diſciples and followers, and receiv'd their Commiſſion from his own mouth.
 Indeed *Matthias* was not one of the firſt election, being taken in upon *Judas*
 his Apoſtaſie after our Lord's Aſcenſion into Heaven. But beſides that
 he had been one of the ſeventy Diſciples, called and ſent out by our ſav-
 our, that extraordinary declaration of the Divine will and pleaſure that ap-
 peared in determining his election, was in a manner equivalent to the firſt
 election. As for *S. Paul*, he was not one of the Twelve, taken in as a
 ſupernumerary Apoſtle, but yet an Apoſtle as well as they, and that *not of*
men, neither by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, as he pleads his own cauſe againſt
 the inſinuations of thoſe Impoſtours who traduced him as an Apoſtle only at
 the ſecond hand; whereas he was immediately call'd by *Chriſt* as well as
 they, and in a more extraordinary manner; they were called by him
 while he was yet in his ſtate of meaneſs and humiliation, he, when
Chriſt was now advanced upon the Throne, and appeared to him encircled
 with thoſe glorious emanations of brightneſs and majeſty, which he was not
 able to endure. I obſerve no more concerning this, than that an immediate
 call has ever been accounted neceſſary to give credit and reputation to
 their doctrine, that the moſt notorious impoſtours have pretended to it. Thus
 * *Manes* the Founder of the *Manichean* Sect, was wont in his Epistles to ſtyle
 himſelf the *Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt*; as pretending himſelf to be the perſon,
 whom our Lord had promiſed to ſend into the World, and that accordingly
 the Holy Ghoſt was actually ſent in him, and therefore he conſtituted twelve
 Diſciples always to attend his perſon, in imitation of the number of the Apo-
 ſtolick College. And how often the *Turkiſh* impoſtour does upon this ac-
 count call himſelf, the *Apoſtle of God*, every one that has but once ſeen the
Alcoran, is able to tell.

V. Fourthly, The main work and employment of these Apostles was to preach the Gospel, to establish Christianity, and to govern the Church that was to be founded, as *Christ's* immediate Deputies and Vicegerents: they were to instruct men in the doctrines of the Gospel, to discipule the World, and to baptize and initiate men into the Faith of *Christ*; and to constitute and ordain Guides and Ministers of Religion, persons peculiarly set a-part for holy ministrations, to censure and punish obstinate and contumacious offenders, to compose and over-rule disorders and divisions, to command or countermand as occasion was, being vested with an extraordinary authority and

and power of disposing things for the edification of the Church. This Office the Apostles never exercised in its full extent and latitude during *Christ's* residence upon Earth; for though upon their election he sent them forth to Preach and to Baptize, yet this was only a narrow and temporary employment, and they quickly returned to their private stations, the main power being still executed and administered by *Christ* himself, the complete exercise whereof was not actually devolved upon them, till he was ready to leave the World: for then it was that he told them, as *my father hath sent me, even so send I you; receive ye the Holy Ghost; whatsoever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whatsoever sins ye retain, they are retained.* Whereby he conferred in some proportion the same authority upon them, which he himself had derived from his Father. Fifthly, this Commission given to the Apostles was unlimited and universal, not only in respect of power, as enabling them to discharge all acts of Religion relating either to Ministry or Government, but in respect of place, not confining them to this or that particular Province, but leaving them the whole World as their Diocese to preach in, they being *destinati Nationibus Magistri*, in * *Tertullian's* phrase, designed to be the Masters and Instructors of all Nations: so runs their Commission, *|| Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to* || Mark 16. 15. *every creature*, that is, to all men, the *παντας κτιστους* of the Evangelist answering to the *לכל הבריות* amongst the *Jews*, *to all creatures*, whereby they used to denote all men in general, but especially the *Gentiles* in opposition to the *Jews*. Indeed while our Saviour lived, the Apostolical ministry extended no farther than *Judea*; but he being gone to Heaven, the *partition wall was broken down*, and their way was open into all places and Countries. And herein how admirably did the *Christian* Oeconomy transcend the *Jewish* dispensation! The preaching of the Prophets like the

* light that comes in at the window, was confined only to the *house of Israel*, while the doctrine of the Gospel preached by the Apostles was like the light of the Sun in the firmament, that diffused its beams, and propagated its heat and influence into all quarters of the World; *their sound going out into all the Earth, and their words unto the ends of the World*. It's true, for the more prudent and orderly management of things they are generally said by the Ancients to have divided the World into so many quarters and portions, to which they were severally to betake themselves; *Peter to Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, &c. St. John to Asia, St. Andrew to Scythia, &c.* But they did not strictly tie themselves to those particular Provinces that were assigned to them; but as occasion was, made excursions into other parts; though for the main they had a more peculiar inspection over those parts that were allotted to them; usually residing at some principal City of the Province, as *St. John at Ephesus, St. Philip at Hierapolis, &c.* whence they might have a more convenient prospect of affairs round about them; and hence it was that these places more peculiarly got the title of *Apostolical Churches*, because first planted, or eminently watered and cultivated by some Apostle, *Matrices & Origines Fidei*, as * *Tertullian* calls them, *Mother-churches, and the Originals of the Faith*, because here the Christian doctrine was first sown, and hence planted and propagated to the Countries round about, *Ecclesias apud unanymamque civitatem condidit, a quibus traducem fidei & semina doctrinae, ceteræ exinde Eccl.* *cleræ mutuatae sunt*, as his own words are.

* Ἀρχαίτες εἰσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀ-
ποστολοι· ἀρχαίτες, ἐκ τούτου καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους
λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τῷ οἰκουμενῶν
ἐμπιστεύουσιν. Chrysost. *Serm.* περ. αὐτ., ἐπ. χη-
σιν· *ὁ δὲ ἦν γεγεῶν ἀναγνώσις*, p. 115, *Tom.* 8.
Edit. Savil.

* *De praescript. Haeret.* c. 20. p. 208.

runs their Commission, || *Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to* || Mark 16. 15.

* Ὡςπερ Ν δὲ φῶς διὰ θυεῖδος ὁ σπερχόμε-
νον, ὁ ᾧ ἡλίου ὅλη τῇ οἰκουμένη τὰς ἀκτῖνας
ἐπαφίησιν· ὅτως ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τοῦ τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου
μόνον φασίητες τῷ Ἰσραήλ· αἱ δ' Ἀπόστολοι ἡλικίᾳ
ἦσαν καλεσμένοιαι τὰς ἀκτῖνας εἰς ὅλα τα μέλη
τῷ κόσμῳ. Macar. Homil. 14. p. 171.

* Terrullian calls them, *Mother-churches*, and the *Originals of the Faith*, because here the Christian doctrine was first sown, and hence planned and propagated to the Countries round about, *Ecclesias apud unanquamque civitatem considerantur, à quibus traducem fidei & semina doctrinæ, cæteræ exinde Ecclesie mutuatur sunt*, as his own words are.

* J. Mart. *dial.*
cum Tryphone.
p. 260.

* See S. Peter's
Life, Sect. 3.
Num. 2.

Gal. 1. 1.

* Aug. de Hære)
c. 46. col. 23.

March. 24. 14.

Vers. 3.

VI. In pursuance of this general Commission we find the Apostles not long after our Lord's Ascension traversing almost all parts of the then known World; St. Andrew in *Scythia* and those Northern Countries, St. Thomas and Bartholomew in *India*, St. Simon and St. Mark in *Africk*, *Egypt*, and the parts of *Libya* and *Mauritania*, St. Paul, and probably Peter and some others in the farthest Regions of the *West*: And all this done in the space of less than forty years, viz. before the destruction of the Jewish State by Titus and the Roman Army. For so our Lord had expressly foretold, that the Gospel of the Kingdom should be preached in all the World for a witness unto all Nations, before the end came, that is, the end of the Jewish State, which the Apostles a little before had called the end of the World, *αὐτὴν τὴν αἰὼν*, the shutting up or consummation of the Age, the putting a final period to that present State and dispensation that the Jews were under. And indeed strange it is to consider, that in so few years these Evangelical Messengers should over-run all Countries; with what an incredible swiftness did the Christian Faith like lightning pierce from East to West, and diffuse it self over all quarters of the World, and that not only unassisted by any secular advantages, but in defiance of the most fierce and potent opposition, which every where set it self against it: 'Tis true the impetuosity of Mohammed in a very little time gained a great part of the East. But besides that this was not comparable to the universal spreading of Christianity, his doctrine was calculated on purpose to gratify mens lusts, and especially to comply with the loose and wanton manners of the East, and, which is above all, had the sword to hew out its way before it: and we know how ready even without force in all changes and revolutions of the World, the conquered have been to follow the Religion of the Conquerors. Whereas the Apostles had no visible advantages, nay, had all the enraged powers of the World to contend against them. And yet in despite of all went on in triumph, and quickly made their way into those places, where for so many Ages no other conquest ever came; those parts of Britain (as * Tertullian observes) which were unconquerable and unapproachable by the power of the Roman Armies, submitting their necks to the yoke of Christ. A mighty evidence (as he there argues) of Christ's Divinity, and that he was the true Messiah. And indeed no reasonable account can be given of the strange and successful progress of the Christian Religion in those first Ages of it, but that it was the birth of Heaven, and had a Divine and Invisible power going along with it to succeed and prosper it. † Saint Chrysostome discourses this argument at large, some of whose elegant reasonings I shall here transcribe. He tells the Gentile (with whom he was disputing) that he would not prove Christ's Deity by a demonstration from Heaven, by his Creation of the World, his great and stupendous Miracles, his raising the Dead, curing the Blind, expelling Devils, nor from the mighty promises of a future state, and the resurrection of the dead (which an Infidel might easily not only question, but deny) but from what was sufficiently evident and obvious to the meanest Idiot, his planting and propagating Christianity in the World. For it is not (says he) in the power of a mere man, in so short a time to encircle the World, to compass Sea and Land, and in matters of so great importance to rescue mankind from the slavery of absurd and unreasonable customs, and the powerful tyranny of evil habits: and these not Romans only, but Persians, and the most barbarous Nations of the World. A reformation which he wrought not by force and the power of the sword; nor by pouring into the world numerous Legions and Armies: but by a few inconsiderable men (no more at first than Eleven) a company of obscure and mean, simple and illiterate, poor and helpless, naked and

* Adv. Jud. c. 7.
p. 182.

† Lib. quod Chr.
sit Deus, c. 1.
Tom. 5. p. 726.

unarmed persons, who had scarce a shoe to tread on, or a coat to cover them. And yet by these he persuaded so great a part of mankind to be able freely to reason, not onely of things of the present, but of a future state; to renounce the Laws of their Country, and throw off those ancient and inveterate customs, which had taken root for so many Ages, and planted others in their room; and reduced men from those easie ways, wherein they were hurried, into the more rugged and difficult paths of vertue. All which he did, while he had to contend with opposite powers, and when he himself had undergone the most ignominious death, even the death of the Cross. Afterwards he addresses himself to the Jew, and discourses with him much after the same rate. Consider (says * he) and bethink thy self, what it is in so short a time to fill the whole World with so many famous Churches, to convert so many Nations to the Faith, to prevail with Men to forsake the Religion of their Country, to root up their rites and customs, to shake off the Empire of lust and pleasure, and the Laws of vice like dust; to abolish and abominate their Temples and their Altars, their Idols and their Sacrifices, their profane and impious Festivals as dirt and dung; and instead hereof to set up Christian Altars in all places, among the Romans, Persians, Scythians, Moors and Indians; and not there onely, but in the Countries beyond this World of ours. For even the British Islands that lie beyond the Ocean, and those that are in it, have felt the power of the Christian Faith; Churches and Altars being erected there to the service of Christ. A matter truly great and admirable, and which would clearly have demonstrated a Divine and Supereminent Power, although there had been no opposition in the case, but that all things had run on calmly and smoothly, to think that in so few years the Christian Faith should be able to reclaim the whole World from its vicious customs, and to win them over to other manners, more laborious and difficult, repugnant both to their native inclinations, and to the Laws and Principles of their education, and such as oblig'd them to a more strict and accurate course of life; and these persons not one or two, not twenty or an hundred, but in a manner all Mankind: and this brought about by no other instruments than a few rude and unlearned, private and unknown Tradescmen, who had neither estate nor reputation, learning nor eloquence, kindred nor Country to recommend them to the World; a few Fishermen and Tent-makers, and whom distinguished by their Language as well as their Religion, the rest of the World scorn'd as barbarous. And yet these were the men, by whom our Lord built up his Church, and extended it from one end of the World unto the other. Other considerations there are with which the Father does urge and illustrate this argument, which I forbear to insist on in this place.

VII. Sixthly, The power and authority convey'd by this Commission to the Apostles, was equally conferr'd upon all of them. They were all chosen at the same time, all equally impowred to preach and baptize, all equally intrusted with the power of binding and loosing, all invested with the same mission, and all equally furnished with the same gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost. Indeed the Advocates of the Church of Rome do with a mighty zeal and fierceness contend for St. Peter's being Head and Prince of the Apostles, advanced by Christ to a supremacy and prerogative not onely above, but over the rest of the Apostles; and not without reason, the fortunes of that Church being concerned in the supremacy of St. Peter. No wonder therefore they ransack all corners, press and force in whatever may but seem to give countenance to it. Witness those thin and miserable shifts, which Bellarmine calls arguments, to prove and make it good; so utterly devoid

what was greater, raised the dead, cast out Devils, cured the blind, healed the lame, making the Gentiles obedient by word and deed, through many signs and wonders wrought by the power of the spirit of God. These were the things that clearly shewed that their mission and ministry was not from men, nor taken up of their own heads, but that they acted herein by a Divine warrant and authority. That therefore it might plainly appear to the World, that they did not falsify in what they said, or deliver any more than God had given them in commission, he enabled them to doe strange and miraculous operations, bearing them witness both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost. This was a power put into the first draught of their commission, when confined only to the Cities of Israel; As ye go, preach, saying, The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand; Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out Devils, freely ye have received, freely give: but more fully confirmed upon them, when our Lord went to Heaven, then he told them, that these signs should follow them that believe, that in his Name they should cast out Devils, and speak with new tongues; that they should take up serpents, and if they drank any deadly thing, it should not hurt them; that they should lay hands on the sick, and they should recover: And the event was accordingly, for they went forth, and preached every-where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. When Paul and Barnabas came up to the Council at Jerusalem, this was one of the first things they gave an account of, all the multitude keeping silence, while they declared what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them. Thus the very shadow of Peter as he passed by cured the sick: thus God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick, handkerchiefs, or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them. So that besides the innate characters of Divinity which the Christian Religion brought along with it, containing nothing but what was highly reasonable, and very becoming God to reveal; it had the highest external evidence that any Religion was capable of, the attestation of great and unquestionable Miracles, done not once or twice, not privately and in corners, not before a few simple and credulous persons, but frequently and at every turn, publicly and in places of the most solemn concourse, before the wisest and most judicious enquirers, and this power of Miracles continued not only during the Apostles time, but for some Ages after.

X. But because besides Miracles in general, the Scripture takes particular notice of many gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost conferred upon the Apostles and first Preachers of the Gospel, it may not be amiss to consider some of the chiefest and most material of them, as we find them enumerated by the Apostle, onely premising this observation, that though these gifts were distinctly distributed to persons of an inferior order, so that one had this, and another that, yet were they (probably) all conferr'd upon the Apostles, and doubtless in larger proportions than upon the rest. First, we take notice of the gift of Prophecy, a clear evidence of Divine Inspiration, and an extraordinary Mission, the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of Prophecy. It had been for many Ages the signal and honourable privilege of the Jewish Church, and that the Christian Oeconomy might challenge as sacred regards from men, and that it might appear that God had not withdrawn his Spirit from his Church in this new state of things, it was revived under the dispensation of the Gospel, according to that famous Prophecy of Joel exactly accomplished (as Peter told the Jews) upon the day of Pentecost, when the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost were so plentifully shed upon the Apostles and Primitive

tive Christians; This is that which was spoken by the Prophet Joel, It shall come to pass in the last days, (saith God) I will pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesie, and your young Men shall see visions, and your old Men shall dream Dreams; and on my Servants, and on my Hand-maidens I will pour out in those days of my spirit, and they shall prophesie. It lay in general in revealing and making known to others the mind of God, but discovered it self in particular instances; partly in foretelling things to come, and what should certainly happen in after-times; a thing set beyond the reach of any finite understanding; for though such effects as depend upon natural agents, or moral and political causes, may be foreseen by studious and considering persons, yet the knowledge of futurities, things purely contingent, that merely depend upon mens choice, and their mutable and uncertain wills, can onely fall under his view, who at once beholds things past, present, and to come. Now this was conferred upon the Apostles and some of the first Christians, as appears from many instances in the History of the Apostolick Acts, and we find the Apostles Writings frequently interperfed with prophetic predictions concerning the great apostasie from the faith, the universal corruption and degeneracy of manners, the rise of particular heresies, the coming of Antichrist, and several other things which the spirit said expressly should come to pass in the latter times; besides that S. John's whole Book of Revelation is almost intirely made up of Prophecies concerning the future state and condition of the Church. Sometimes by this spirit of prophecy God declared things that were of present concernment to the exigences of the Church, as when he signified to them that they should set apart Paul and Barnabas for the conversion of the Gentiles, and many times immediately designed particular persons to be Pastours and Governours of the Church. Thus we read of the gift that was given to Timothy by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, that is, his Ordination, to which he was particularly pointed out by some prophetick designation. But the main use of this prophetick gift in those times was to explain some of the more difficult and particular parts of the Christian Doctrine, especially to expound and apply the ancient Prophecies concerning the Messiah and his Kingdom in their publick Assemblies; whence the gift of prophecy is explained by understanding all mysteries, and all knowledge, that is, the most dark and difficult places of Scripture, the types and figures, the ceremonies and prophecies of the Old Testament. And thus we are commonly to understand those words, Prophets, and prophesying, that so familiarly occur in the New Testament. Having gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesie according to the proportion of faith; that is, expound Scripture according to the generally-received principles of Faith and Life. So the Apostle elsewhere prescribing Rules for the decent and orderly managing of Divine Worship in their publick Assemblies, let the Prophets (says he) speak two or three (that is, at the same Assembly) and let the other judge; and if while any is thus expounding, another has a Divine affluence, whereby he is more particularly enabled to explain some difficult and emergent passage, let the first hold his peace: for ye may all, all that have this gift, prophesie one by one, that so thus orderly proceeding, all may learn, and all may be comforted. Nor can the first pretend that this interruption is an unreasonable check to his revelation, seeing he may command himself; for though among the Gentiles the prophetick and ecclitack impulse did so violently press upon the inspired Person, that he could not govern himself, yet in the Church of God the spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets, may be so ruled and restrained by them, as to make way for others. This order of Christian Prophets considered

sidered as a distinct Ministry by it self is constantly placed next to the Apostolical Office, and is frequently by *S. Paul* preferred before any other spiritual Gifts then bestowed upon the Church. When this spirit of Prophecy ceased in the *Christian Church*, we cannot certainly find. It continued some competent time beyond the *Apostolical Age*. (i) *Justin Martyr* expressly tells *Trypho the Jew*, *ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῆς νεκροῦς χάρισμα δὲν, the gifts of Prophecy are even yet extant among us*; an argument, as he there tells him, that those things which had of old been the great Privileges of their Church, were now translated into the *Christian Church*. And (k) *Eusebius* speaking of a Revelation made to one *Alcibiades*, who lived about the time of *Irenæus*, adds, that the Divine Grace had not withdrawn its Presence from the Church, but that they still had the Holy Ghost as their Counsellour to direct them.

XI. Secondly, They had the gift of discerning spirits, whereby they were enabled to discover the truth or fallhood of mens pretences, whether their gifts were real or counterfeit, and their persons truly inspired or not. For many men, acted onely by diabolical impulses, might entitle themselves to Divine Inspirations, and others might be imposed upon by their delusions, and mistake their dreams and fancies for the Spirits dictates and revelations; or might so subtilly and artificially counterfeit Revelations, that they might with most pass for currant, especially in those times when these supernatural gifts were so common and ordinary; and our Lord himself had frequently told them that false Prophets would arise, and that many would confidently plead for themselves before him, that they had prophesied in his name. That therefore the Church might not be imposed upon, God was pleased to endue the Apostles, and it may be some others, with an immediate faculty of discerning the Chaff from the Wheat, true from false Prophets; nay, to know when the true Prophets delivered the revelations of the Spirit, and when they expressed onely their own conceptions. This was a mighty privilege, but yet seems to me to have extended farther, to judge of the sincerity or hypocrisy of mens hearts in the profession of Religion, that so bad men being discovered, suitable censures and punishments might be passed upon them, and others cautioned to avoid them. Thus *Peter* at first sight discovered *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, and the rotten hypocrisy of their intentions, before there was any external evidence in the case; and told *Simon Magus*, though baptized before upon his embracing Christianity, that his heart was not right in the sight of God, for I perceive (says he) that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity. Thirdly, the Apostles had the gift of Tongues, furnished with variety of utterance, able to speak on a sudden several Languages which they had never learnt, as occasion was administered, and the exigencies of Persons and Nations with whom they conversed, did require. For the Apostles being principally designed to convert the World, and to plant Christianity in all Countries and Nations; it was absolutely necessary that they should be able readily to express their minds in the Languages of those Countries to which they addressed themselves: seeing otherwise it would have been a work of time and difficulty, and not consistent with the term of the Apostles lives, had they been first to learn the different Languages of those Nations, before they could have preached the Gospel to them. Hence this gift was diffused upon the Apostles in larger measures and proportions than upon other men; I speak with Tongues more than ye all, says *S. Paul*; that is, than all the gifted persons in the Church of *Corinth*. Our Lord had told the Apostles before his departure from them, that they should be endowed with power from on high, which upon the day of Pentecost was particularly made good in this instance,

instance, when in a moment they were enabled to speak almost all the Languages of the then known World, and this as a specimen and first-fruits of the rest of those miraculous powers that were conferr'd upon them.

XII. A fourth gift was that of Interpretation, or unfolding to others what had been delivered in an unknown tongue. For the Christian Assemblies in those days were frequently made up of men of different Nations, and who could not understand what the Apostles or others had spoken to the Congregation; this God supplied by this gift of interpretation, enabling some to interpret what others did not understand, and to speak it to them in their own native Language. *S. Paul* largely discourages the necessity of this gift in order to the instructing and edifying of the Church, seeing without it their meetings could be no better than the Assembly of *Babel* after the confusion of Languages, where one man must needs be a *Barbarian* to another, and all the praying and preaching of the Minister of the Assembly be to many altogether fruitless and unprofitable, and no better than a speaking into the Air. What's the speaking, though with the tongue of Angels, to them that do not understand it? How can the Idiot and unlearned say Amen, who understands not the language of him that giveth thanks? The duty may be done with admirable quaintness and accuracy, but what's he the better, from whom 'tis lock'd up in an unknown tongue? A consideration that made the Apostle solemnly profess, that he had rather speak five words in the Church with his understanding, than by his voice he may teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue. Therefore if any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be but by two, or at most by three, and let one interpret what the rest have spoken: but if there be no interpreter, none pretend able to do this, let him keep silence in the Church, and speak to himself and to God. A man that impartially reads this discourse of the Apostle, may wonder how the Church of *Rome* in defiance of it can so openly practise, so confidently defend their Bible and Divine Services in an unknown tongue, so flatly repugnant to the dictates of common reason, the usage of the first Christian Church, and these plain Apostolical commands. But this is not the onely instance wherein that Church has departed both from Scripture, Reason, and the practice of the first and purest Ages of Christianity. Indeed there is some cause why they are so zealous to keep both Scripture and their Divine Worship in a strange Language, lest by reading the one the People should become wise enough to discover the gross errors and corruptions of the other. Fifthly, the Apostles had the gift of Healing, of curing Diseases without the arts of Physick; the most inveterate distempers being equally removable by an Almighty power, and vanishing at their speaking of a word. This begot an extraordinary veneration for them and their Religion among the common sort of men, who, as they are strongest moved with sensible effects, so are most taken with those miracles that are beneficial to the life of man. Hence the infinite Cures done in every place, God mercifully providing that the Body should partake with the Soul in the advantages of the Gospel, the cure of the one ushering in many times the conversion of the other. This gift was very common in those early days, bestowed not upon the Apostles onely, but the ordinary Governours of the Church, who were wont to lay their hands upon the sick, and sometimes to anoint them with Oil (a symbolick rite in use among the Jews, to denote the grace of God) and to pray over, and for them in the name of the Lord Jesus, whereby, upon a hearty confession and forsaking of their sins, both health and pardon were at once bestowed upon them. How long this gift with its appendant ceremony of Unction lasted in the Church, is not easie to determine; that it was in use in * *Tertullian's* time, we learn from the instance he gives us of

(i) *Dist. cum Trypho* p. 308.

(k) *H. Eocl. lib. v. c. 3. p. 108.*

Act. 8. 21, 23.

1 Cor. 14. 18.

1 Cor. 14.

Verf. 19.

Verf. 27, 28.

1 Jam. 5. 14, 15.

Ad Scapul. 4. p. 71.

nus, style him νῦν Ἀπόστολον καὶ κήρυκα, a new Apostle and Preacher : and (g) Sidonius Apollinaris writing to Lupus Bishop of Troyes in France, speaks of the honour due to his eminent Apostleship. An observation which it were easy enough to confirm by abundant instances, were it either doubtfull in it self, or necessary to my purpose, but being neither, I forbear.

Joan. Euchait. *Metropolitā ὑπὸ μῦθῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀποστόλους.* p. 70.

Σταυρῶ Πέτρον κύματον ἐν Ῥώμῃ Νέρον.
 Ῥώμῃ ἔφει ὁπλοκονία τὸ Παῦλον βλέπει.
 Εἰρηνικῶς τὸ θῆκε Ληξὺς ἐν ἅλει.
 Ζωὴς ὕπνου πρῶτονιν ἄνοι Ματθαίου.
 Μάρκον θάνατον δὲ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείαν.
 Καὶ μὴ θανάτον ἔχῃ καὶ θάνατον Ἰωάννης.
 Σταυρῶσι τε τρεῖς ἄνδρες ὑμῶς Ἀνδρέαν.
 Νεκρῶσι λόγχαις τὸ Οὐρανὸν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ.
 Βαρδολλομαίου θάνατον δὲ θῆκε πᾶσι.
 Καὶ τὸ Σίμωνα θάνατον ἔχῃ βίβλιν.
 Μάλας τῆκε τὸν Ἰακώβον δεσμῶν.
 Ἰσὺ Πέτρον δίδωσι Φίλιππος μύθῳ.

THE LIFE OF S. PETER.

S^t PETER.

S. Peter's Martyrdom.



He was crucified at Rome with his head downwards, and Buried in the Vatican there. *S. Hieronym.* after he had planted a Christian Church first at Antioch and afterwards at Rome. Page. 246. 247.



What is truly worthy I say unto thee when thou wast young thou gavest thy selfe walkdest whither thou wouldest but when thou shalt be old thou shalt stretch forth thy hands & another shall gird thee & carry thee whither thou wouldest. This spake he, foreshewing by what death he should glorify God.

SECT. I.

OF S. Peter, from his Birth, till his First coming to Christ.

Bethsaida S. Peter's Birth-place : Its dignity of old, and fate at this day. The time of his Birth enquired into. Some Errors noted concerning it. His names ; Cephas, the imposing of it notes no Superiority over the rest of the Apostles. The custome of Popes assuming a new Name at their Election to the Papacy, whence. His kindred and relations ; whether He or Andrew the Elder Brother. His Trade and way of life what, before his coming to Christ.

The Sea of Galilee, and the conveniency of it. The meanness and obscurity of his Trade. The remarkable appearances of the Divine Providence in propagating Christianity in the World by mean and unlikely Instruments.

THE Land of *Palestine* was, at and before the coming of our Blessed Saviour, distinguished into three several Provinces, *Judea*, *Samaria* and *Galilee*. This last was divided into the *Upper*, and the *Lower*.

In the Upper, called also *Galilee of the Gentiles*, within the division anciently belonging to the Tribe of *Nephthali*, flood *Bethsaida*, formerly an obscure and inconsiderable Village, till lately reedified and enlarged by * *Philip* the Tetrarch, by him advanced to the place and title of a City, replenished with Inhabitants, and fortified with power and strength, and in honour of *Julia*, the daughter of *Augustus Cæsar*, by him styled *Julias*. Situate it was upon the banks of the Sea of *Galilee*, and had a Wilderness on the other side, thence called the *Desart of Bethsaida*, whither our Saviour used often to retire, the privacies and solitudes of the place advantageously ministring to Divine Contemplations. But *Bethsaida* was not so remarkable for this adjoining Wilderness, as it self was memorable for a worse sort of Barrenness, Ingratitude and Unprofitableness under the influences of *Chriffs* Sermons and Miracles, thence severely upbraided by him, and threatened with one of his deepest woes, *Woe unto thee Chorazin, woe unto thee Bethsaida*, &c. A woe that it seems stuck close to it, for whatever it was at this time, † one who surveyed it in the last Age tells us, that it was thrunk again into a very mean and small Village, consisting only of a few Cottages of *Moors* and wild *Arabs*; and later Travellers have since assured us, that even these are dwindled away into one poor Cottage at this day. So fatally does sin undermine the greatest, the goodliest places; so certainly does God's Word take place, and not one *Iota* either of his promises or threatenings, fall to the ground. Next to the honour that was done it by our Saviour's presence, who living most in these parts frequently resorted thither, it had nothing greater to recommend it to the notice of posterity, than that † besides some other of the *Apoffles* it was the Birth-place of *S Peter*; a person how inconsiderable soever in his private fortunes, yet of great note and eminency, as one of the prime Embassadors of the Son of God, to whom both Sacred and Ecclesiastical Stories give, though not a superiority, a precedency in the College of *Apoffles*.

2. THE particular time of his Birth cannot be recovered, no probable footsteps or intimations being left of it : in the general we may conclude him at least Ten years elder than his Master ; his married condition, and settled course of life at his first coming to *Christ*, and that authority and respect which the gravity of his person procured him amongst the rest of the *Apostles*, can speak him no less : but for any thing more particular and positive in this matter, I see no reason to affirm. Indeed might we trust the account, which one (who pretends to calculate his Nativity with ostentation enough) has given of it, we are told that he was born three years before the *Blessed Virgin*, and just XVII. before the Incarnation of our Saviour. But let us view his account.

Stengel, de S. Pe-
tro cap. 1.

Nat. est An.	{ ab Orbe cond. { 4034	Ann.	{ Oët. Augst. { 8	Ann.	{ Herodis Reg. { 20
	{ à Diluvio { 2378		{ à 1 ^o ejus consul. { 24		{ ante B. Virg. { 3
V. C.	{ 734		{ à pugna Adriac. { 12		{ ante Chr. nat. { 17

When

When I met with such a pompous train of *Epocha's*, the least I expected was truth and certainty. This computation he grounds upon the date of *S. Peter's* death, placed (as * elsewhere he tells us) by *Belarmine* in the LXXXVI. year of his Age; so that recounting from the year of *Chriſt's* LXIX. when *Peter* is commonly ſaid to have ſuffered, he runs up his Age to his Birth, and ſpreads it out into ſo many ſeveral dates. But alas, all is built upon a ſandy bottom. For beſides his miſtake about the year of the World, few of his dates hold due correſpondence. But the worſt of it is, that after all this, † *Belarmine* (upon whole fineſt teſtimony all this fine fabrick is erected) ſays no ſuch thing, but only ſuppoſes, merely for arguments-ſake, that *S. Peter* might very well be LXXXVI. ('tis erroneouſly printed LXXVI.) years old at the time of his Martyrdom. So far will confidence, or ignorance, or both carry men aſide, if it could be a miſtake, and not rather a bold impoſing upon the World. But of this enough, and perhaps more than it deſerves.

3. BEING circumcised according to the Rites of the *Mosaic Law*, the name given him at his circumcision was *Simon* or *Symeon*, a name common amongst the *Jews*, especially in their latter times. This was afterwards by our Saviour not abolished, but additioned with the title of *Cephas*, which in *Syriack* (the vulgar Language of the *Jews* at that time) signifying a *stone* or *rock*, was thence derived into the *Greek*, *Πέτρος*, and by us *Peter*: so far was *† Hefychius* out, when rendering Πέτρος by ὁ Ἐμψύων, an *Expounder* or *Interpreter*, probably deriving it from *Ψ*, which signifies to *explain* and *interpret*. By this new imposition our Lord seemed to denote the firmness and constancy of his Faith, and his vigorous activity in building up the Church, as a *spiritual house* upon the true *rock*, the *living* and *corner-stone*, *chosen of God*, and *precious*, as *† Peter* himself expresses it. Nor can our Saviour be understood to have hereby conferred upon him any peculiar Supremacy or Sovereignty above, much less over the rest of the Apostles; for in respect of the great trust committed to them, and their being sent to plant *Christianity* in the World, they are all equally styled *Foundations*: nor is it accountable either to Scripture, or Reason to suppose, that by this Name our Lord should design the person of *Peter* to be that very *rock*, upon which his Church was to be built. In a fond imitation † of this new name given to *† Peter*, those who pretend to be his Successors in the See of *Rome*, usually lay by their own, and assume a new name upon their advancement to the *Apostolical* Chair, it being one of the first questions || which the Cardinals put to the new-elected Pope, by what name he will please to be called. This custom first began about the year 844, when *Peter di Bocca-Porco* (or *Swines-mouth*) being chosen Pope, changed his name into *Sergius* the Second: probably not so much to avoid the uncompliments of his own name, as if unbefitting the dignity of his place (for this being but his Paternal name would have been no part of his *Pontifical* style and title) as out of a mighty reverence to *† Peter*, accounting himself not worthy to bear his name, though it was his own Baptismal name. Certain it is, that none of the Bishops of that See ever assumed *† Peter's* name, and some who have had it at their *Christian* name before, have laid it aside upon their election to the Papacy. But to return to our Apostle.

4. HIS Father was *Jonah*, probably a Fisherman of *Bethsaida*, for the Sacred Story takes no farther notice of him, than by the bare mention of his Name; and I believe there had been no great danger of mistake, though * *Metaphrases* had not told us, that it was not *Jonas* the Prophet, who came out of the Belly of the Whale. Brother he was to S. *Andrew* the Apostle, †

and

"which was more efficacious, than the greatest volubility of expression, or ornaments of speech, or the artifices which were used in the *Grecian* compositions. Had it not been for this Divine Power that upheld it (as he * elsewhere argues) the *Christian* Religion must needs have sunk under those weighty pressures that lay upon it, having not only to contend with the potent opposition of the *Senate, Emperours, People,* and the whole power of the *Roman Empire*, but to conflict with those home-bred wants and necessities, wherewith its own professors were oppressed and burthened.

6. IT could not but greatly vindicate the Apostles from all suspicion of forgery and imposture in the thoughts of sober and unbiassed persons, to see their Doctrine readily entertained by men of the most discerning and inquisitive minds. Had they dealt only with the rude and the simple, the idiot and the unlearned, there might have been some pretence to suspect, that they lay in wait to deceive, and designed to impose upon the World by craft and insinuating arts and methods. But, alas, they had other persons to deal with, men of the acutest wits, and most profound abilities, the wisest Philosophers, and most subtle disputants, able to weigh an argument with the greatest accuracy, and to decline the force of the strongest reasonings, and who had their parts edg'd with the keenest prejudices of education, and a mighty veneration for the Religion of their Country, a Religion that for so many Ages had governed the World, and taken firm possession of the minds of men. And yet notwithstanding all these disadvantages these plain men conquered the wise and the learned, and brought them over to that Doctrine that was despised and scorned, opposed and persecuted, and that had nothing but its own native excellency to recommend it. A clear evidence that there was something in it beyond the craft and power of men. *Is not this* (says an elegant * *Apologist*, making his address to the *Heathens*) *enough to make you believe and entertain it, to consider that in so short a time it has diffused it*

self over the whole World, civilized the most barbarous Nations, softened the roughest and most intractable tempers, that the greatest Wits and Scholars, Orators, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Physicians and Philosophers have quitted their formerly dear and beloved sentiments, and heartily embraced the Precepts and Doctrines of the Gospel? Upon this account || *Theodoret* does with no less truth than elegance insult and triumph over the Heathens: He tells them that whoever would be at the pains to compare the best Law-makers either amongst the *Greeks or Romans*, with our *Fishermen and Publicans*, would soon perceive what a Divine virtue and efficacy there was in them above all others, whereby they did not only conquer their neighbours, not only the *Greeks and Romans*, but brought over the most barbarous Nations to a compliance with the Laws of the Gospel, and that, not by force of Arms, not by numerous bands of Soldiers, not by methods of torture and cruelty, but by meek persuasives, and a convincing the World of the excellency and usefulness of those Laws which they propounded to them. A thing which the wisest and best men of the Heathen-world could never do, to make their dogmata and institutions universally obtain; nay, that *Plato* himself could never by all his plausible and insinuating arts make his Laws to be entertained by his own dear *Athenians*. He farther shews them, that the Laws published by our *Fishermen and Tent-makers* could never be abolished (like those made by the best amongst them) by the policies of *Caius*, the power of *Claudius*, the cruelties of *Nero*, or any of the succeeding Emperours, but still they went on conquering and to conquer, and made Millions both of Men and Women willing to embrace flames, and to encounter Death in its most horrid shapes, rather than disown and forsake them: whereof he calls to witness

those

* Lib. 1. p. 6.

* Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. 2. p. 21.

|| De Curand. Grac. Affect. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 123.

Ibid. p. 125.

Ibid. p. 128.

Ibid. p. 126.

Ibid. p. 135.

those many Churches and Monuments every-where erected to the memory of *Christian* Martyrs, no less to the honour than advantage of those Cities and Countries, and in some sense to all Mankind.

7. THE sum of the Discourse is, in the Apostles words, that *God chose* 1 Cor. 1. 27, 28. *the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, the weak to confound those that are mighty, the base things of the world, things most vilified and despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are.* These were the things, these the Persons whom God sent upon this errand, to silence the *Wise, the Scribe, and the Disputer of this World, and to make foolish the wisdom of this World.* For though the *Jews* required a sign, and the *Greeks sought after Wisdom, though the preaching a crucified Saviour was a scandal to the Jews, and foolishness to the learned Grecians, yet by this foolishness of preaching God was pleased to save them that believed: and in the event made it appear that the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God stronger than men.* That so the honour of all might intirely redound to himself; so the Apostle concludes, *that no Flesh should glory in his presence, but that he that glorieth, should glory in the Lord.*

ad pradicandum, ne fides creditum non virtute Dei, sed eloquentia atque doctrina fieri putaretur. Hieron. comm. in Matth. cap. 4. Tom. 9. p. 17.

fit primi vocati sum, et Dominum sequentur: piscatores et illiterati ministraverunt.

SECT. II.

Of S. Peter, from his first coming to *Christ*, till his being call'd to be a Disciple.

Peter, before his coming to *Christ*, a Disciple (probably) of John the Baptist. His first approaches to *Christ*. Our Lord's communication with him. His return to his Trade. *Christ's* entering into Peter's Ship, and preaching to the people at the Sea of Galilee. The miraculous draught of Fishes. Peter's great astonishment at this evidence of our Lord's Divinity. His call to be a Disciple. *Christ's* return to Capernaum, and healing Peter's Mother-in-law.

THOUGH we find not whether Peter before his coming to *Christ* was engag'd in any of the particular Sects at this time in the Jewish Church, yet is it greatly probable, that he was one of the Disciples of John the Baptist. For first, 'tis certain that his brother Andrew was so, and we can hardly think, these two brothers should draw contrary ways, or that he who was so ready to bring his brother the early tidings of the *Messiah*, that the Sun of righteousness was already risen in those parts, should not be as solicitous to bring him under the discipline and influences of John the Baptist, the Day-star that went before him. Secondly, Peter's forwardness and curiosity at the first news of *Christ's* appearing, to come to him, and converse with him, shew that his expectations had been awakened, and some light in this matter conveyed to him by the preaching and ministry of John, who was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight, shewing them who it was that was coming after him.

it self to *Christ* of exerting his Divine Power. No sooner was he told of it, but he came to her bed-side, rebuked the *Paroxysms*, commanded the Fever to be gone, and taking her by the hand to lift her up, in a moment restored her to perfect health, and ability to return to the business of her Family, all cures being equally easie to Omnipotence.

S E C T. III.

Of S. Peter, from his Election to the Apostolate, till the Confession which he made of *Christ*.

The Election of the Apostles; and our Lord's solemn preparation for it. The Powers and Commission given to them. Why Twelve chosen. Peter the first in order, not power. The Apostles when and by whom baptized. The Tradition of Euodius, of Peter's being immediately baptized by Christ, rejected, and its authorities proved insufficient. Three of the Apostles more intimately conversant with our Saviour. Peter's being with Christ at the raising Jairus his daughter. His walking with Christ upon the Sea. The creatures at God's command all contrary to their natural Inclinations. The weakness of Peter's Faith. Christ's power in commanding down the storm, an evidence of his Divinity. Many Disciples desert our Saviour's preaching. Peter's profession of constancy in the name of the rest of the Apostles.

1. OUR Lord being now to elect some peculiar persons, as his immediate Vicegerents upon Earth, to whose care and trust he might commit the building up of his Church, and the planting that Religion in the World, for which he himself came down from Heaven; In order to it he privately over-night withdrew himself into a solitary Mountain (commonly called the *Mount of Christ*, from his frequent repairing thither, though some of the Ancients will have it to be *Mount Tabor*) there to make his solemn address to Heaven for a prosperous success on so great a work. Herein leaving an excellent copy and precedent to the Governours of his Church, how to proceed in setting apart persons to so weighty and difficult an employment. Upon this Mountain we may conceive there was an *Oratory* or place of prayer (probably intimated by S. Luke's ἡ προσευχή, for such *Proseucha's*, or Houses of Prayer, usually uncovered, and standing in the fields, the Jews had in several places) wherein our Lord continued all night, not in one continued and intire act of devotion, but probably by intervals and repeated returns of duty.

2. EARLY the next morning his Disciples came to him, out of whom he made choice of Twelve to be his *Apostles*, that they might be the constant attendants upon his person, to hear his Discourses and be Eye-witnesses of his Miracles; to be always conversant with him while he was upon Earth, and afterwards to be sent abroad up and down the World, to carry on that work which he himself had begun; whom therefore he invested with the power of working Miracles, which was more completely conferr'd upon them after his Ascension into Heaven. Passing by the several fancies and conjectures of the Ancients, why our Saviour pitch'd upon the

Luke 6. 12.

Mark 10. 1.
Mark 9. 14.
Luke 6. 13.

the just number of Twelve (whereof before) it may deserve to be considered, whether our Lord being now to appoint the Supreme Officers and Governours of his Church, which the *Apostle* styles, the *Commonwealth of Israel*, might not herein have a more peculiar allusion to the twelve Patriarchs, as founders of their several Tribes, or to the constant Heads and Rulers of those twelve Tribes of which the body of the *Jewish* Nation did consist: Especially since he himself seems elsewhere to give countenance to it, when he tells the Apostles that *when the Son of man shall sit on the Throne of his Glory*, that is, be gone back to Heaven, and have taken full possession of his Evangelical Kingdom, which principally commenc'd from his Resurrection, that then they also should sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel, that is, they should have great powers and authorities in the Church, such as the power of the Keys, and other Rights of Spiritual Judicature and Sovereignty, answerable in some proportion to the power and dignity which the Heads and Rulers of the twelve Tribes of Israel did enjoy.

3. IN the enumeration of these twelve Apostles, all the Evangelists constantly place S. Peter in the front; and S. Matthew expressly tells us, that he was the first, that is, he was the first that was called to be an Apostle: his Age also and the gravity of his person more particularly qualifying him for a Primacy of Order amongst the rest of the Apostles, as that without which no society of men can be managed or maintained. Less than this, as none will deny him; so more than this, neither Scripture nor Primitive antiquity do allow him. And now it was, that our Lord actually conferr'd that name upon him, which before he had promised him, *Simon be renamed Peter*. It may here be enquired, when, and by whom the Apostles were baptized. That they were is unquestionable, being themselves appointed to confer it upon others; but when, or how, the Scripture is altogether silent. * *Nicephorus*, from no worse an Author, as he pretends, than *Euodius*, S. Peter's immediate successor in the See of *Antioch*, tells us, That of all the Apostles *Christ* baptized none but *Peter* with his own hands; that *Peter* baptized *Andrew*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, and they the rest of the Apostles. This, if so, would greatly make for the honour of S. Peter. But alas! his authority is not only suspicious, but supposititious, in a manner deserted by S. Peter's best friends, and the strongest champions of his cause: *Baronius* himself, however sometimes willing to make use of him, elsewhere || confessing that this Epistle of *Euodius* is altogether unknown to any of the Ancients. As for the testimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which to the same purpose he quotes out of * *Sophronius*, (though not *Sophronius*, but *Johannes Moschus*, as is notoriously known, by the Author of that Book) besides, that it is delivered upon an uncertain report, pretended to have been alleged in a discourse between one *Dionysius* Bishop of *Ascalon* and his Clergy, out of a Book of *Clemens*, not now extant; his Authors are much alike, that is, of no great value and authority.

4. AMONGST these Apostles, our Lord chose a Triumvirate, *Peter* and the two sons of *Zebedee* to be his more intimate companions, whom he admitted more familiarly than the rest, unto all the more secret passages and transactions of his Life. The first instance of which was on this occasion. *Jairus*, a Ruler of the Synagogue, had a daughter desperately sick, whose disease, having baffled all the arts of Physick, was only curable by the immediate agency of the God of Nature. He therefore in all humility addresses himself to our Saviour; which he had no sooner done, but servants came post to tell him, that it was in vain to trouble our Lord,

Ephes. 2. 12.

Mark 10. 28.

Mark 10. 2.

Mark 3. 16.

* *Hist. Eccles.*
lib. 2. c. 3. p. 134.

† *Ad An.* 31.

mem. 40.

|| *Ad An.* 71.

mem. 12.

* *Vid. Jos. Mosch.*cap. 156. *Bibl.*P. *Græc. L.*

Tom. 2. p. 1133.

Mark 9. 22.

for

for that his daughter was dead. *Christ* bids him not despond, if his Faith held out, there was no danger. And suffering none to follow him, but *Peter, James and John*, goes along with him to the house; where he was derided by the forrowfull friends and neighbours, for telling them that she was not perfectly dead. But our Lord entering in, with the commanding efficacy of two words, restor'd her at once both to life and perfect health.

Matt. 14. 17.

5. OUR Lord after this preached many Sermons, and wrought many Miracles: amongst which, none more remarkable, than his feeding a multitude of five thousand men, besides women and children, but with five Loaves and two Fishes; of which, nevertheless, twelve Baskets of fragments were taken up. Which being done, and the multitude dismissed, he commanded the Apostles to take Ship, it being now near night, and to cross over to *Capernaum*, whilst he himself, as his manner was, retired to a neighbouring mountain, to dispose himself to Prayer and Contemplation. The Apostles were scarce got into the middle of the Sea, when on a sudden a violent Storm and Tempest began to arise, whereby they were brought into present danger of their lives. Our Saviour, who knew how the case stood with them, and how much they laboured under infinite pains and fears, having himself caused this Tempest, for the greater trial of their Faith, a little before morning (for so long they remained in this imminent danger) immediately conveyed himself upon the Sea, where the waves received him, being proud to carry their Master. He who refused to gratifie the Devil, when tempting him to throw himself down from the Pinnacle of the Temple, did here commit himself to a boisterous and instable Element, and that in a violent Storm, walking upon the water, as if it had been dry ground. But that infinite power that made and supports the World, as it gave rules to all particular beings, so can when it pleaseth countermand the Laws of their Creation, and make them act contrary to their natural inclinations. If God say the word, the Sun will stand still in the middle of the Heavens; if, Go back, 'twill retrocede, as upon the Dial of *Ahaz*: if he command it, the Heavens will become as *Brass*, and the Earth as *Iron*, and that for three years and an half together, as in the case of *Elijah's* prayer; if he say to the Sea, Divide, 'twill run upon heaps, and become on both sides as firm as a wall of Marble. Nothing can be more natural, than for the fire to burn, and yet at God's command it will forget its nature, and become a screen and a fence to the three Children in the *Babylonian* Furnace. What heavier than Iron, or more natural than for gravity to tend downwards? and yet when God will have it, Iron shall float like Cork on the top of the water. The proud and raging Sea that naturally refuses to bear the bodies of men while alive, became here as firm as Brass, when commanded to wait upon and doe homage to the God of Nature. Our Lord walking towards the Ship, as if he had an intention to pass by it, he was espied by them, who presently thought it to be the Apparition of a Spirit. Hereupon they were seiz'd with great terror and consternation, and their fears in all likelihood heightened by the vulgar opinion, that they are evil Spirits that chuse rather to appear in the night than by day. While they were in this agony, our Lord taking compassion on them, calls to them, and bids them not be afraid, for that it was no other than he himself. *Peter* (the eagerness of whose temper carried him forward to all bold and resolute undertakings) entreated our Lord, that if it was he, he might have leave to come upon the water to him. Having received his orders, he went out of the Ship, and walked upon the Sea to meet his Master. But when he found the wind to bear hard against him, and the waves to rise round about him, whereby probably the sight of *Christ* was intercep-

intercepted, he began to be afraid; and the higher his fears arose, the lower his Faith began to sink, and together with that, his body to sink under water: whereupon in a passionate fright he cried out to our Lord to help him, who, reaching out his arm, took him by the hand, and set him again upon the top of the water, with this gentle reproof, *O thou of little Faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?* It being the weakness of our Faith that makes the influences of the Divine power and goodness to have no better effect upon us. Being come to the Ship, they took them in, where our Lord no sooner arrived, but the winds and waves observing their duty to their Sovereign Lord, and having done the errand which they came upon, mannerly departed, and vanished away, and the Ship in an instant was at the shore. All that were in the Ship being strangely astonished at this Miracle, and fully convinced of the Divinity of his person, came and did homage to him, with this confession, *Of a truth thou art the Son of God*. After which they went ashore, and landed in the Country of *Genesareth*, and there more fully acknowledged him before all the people.

6. THE next day, great multitudes flocking after him, he entered into a *John 6. 24.* Synagogue at *Capernaum*, and taking occasion from the late Miracle of the loaves, which he had wrought amongst them, he began to discourse concerning himself, as the true *Manna*, and the Bread that came down from Heaven; largely opening to them many of the more sublime and Spiritual mysteries, and the necessary and important duties of the Gospel. Hereupon a great part of his Auditory, who had hitherto followed him, finding their understandings gravelled with these difficult and uncommon Notions, and that the duties he required were likely to grate hard upon them, and perceiving now that he was not the *Messiah* they took him for, whose Kingdom should consist in an external Grandeur and plenty, but was to be managed and transacted in a more inward and Spiritual way; hereupon fairly left him in open field, and henceforth quite turned their backs upon him. Whereupon our Lord, turning about to his Apostles, asked them, whether they also would go away from him? *Peter* (Spokes-man generally for all the rest) answered, whither should they go to mend and better their condition? should they return back to *Moses*? Alas! he laid a yoke upon them, which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear. Should they go to the *Scribes and Pharisees*? they would feed them with Stones instead of Bread, obtrude humane Traditions upon them for Divine dictates and Commands. Should they betake themselves to the *Philosophers* amongst the *Gentiles*? they were miserably blind and short-sighted in their Notions of things, and their sentiments and opinions not onely different from, but contrary to one another. No, 'twas he onely had the words of *Eternal* life, whose doctrine could instruct them in the plain way to Heaven; that they had fully assented to what both *John* and he had said concerning himself, that they were fully persuaded both from the efficacy of his Sermons, which they heard, and the powerful conviction of his Miracles, which they had seen, that he was the *Son of the living God*, the true *Messiah* and Saviour of the World. But notwithstanding this fair and plausible testimony, he tells them, that they were not all of this mind, that there was a *Satan* amongst them, one that was moved by the spirit and impulse, and that acted according to the rules and interest of the Devil: intimating *Judas* who should betray him. So hard is it to meet with a body of so just and pure a constitution, wherein some rotten member or disordered part is not to be found.

SECT. IV.

Of *S. Peter*, from the time of his Confession, till our Lord's last Passover.

Our Saviour's Journey with his Apostles to Cæſarea. The Opinions of the People concerning him. Peter's eminent Confeſſion of Chriſt, and our Lord's great commendation of it. Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock, &c. The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven how given. The advantage the Church of Rome makes of theſe paſſages. This confeſſion made by Peter in the name of the reſt, and by others before him. No perſonal privilege intended to S. Peter: the ſame things elſewhere promiſed to the other Apoſtles. Our Lord's diſcourſe concerning his Paſſion. Peter's unſeaſonable zeal in diſſuading him from it, and our Lord's ſevere rebuking him. Chriſt's Tranſfiguration, and the glory of it: Peter how affected with it. Peter's paying tribute for Chriſt and himſelf. This Tribute, what. Our Saviour's diſcourſe upon it. Offending brethren, how oft to be forgiven. The young man commanded to ſell all. What compenſation made to the followers of Chriſt. Our Lord's triumphant entrance into Jeruſalem. Preparation made to keep the Paſſover.

Mark 8. 27.
Matth. 16. 21.
Luke 9. 18.

1. **I**T was some time since our Saviour had kept his third Passover at *Jerusalem*, when he directed his Journey towards *Cæsarea Philippi*; where by the way having like a careful Master of his Family first prayed with his *Apostles*, he began to ask them (having been more than two Years publickly conversant amongst them) what the world thought concerning him. They answered, that the Opinions of Men about him were various and different; that some took him for *John the Baptist*, lately risen from the dead, between whose Doctrine, Discipline and way of life, in the main there was so great a Correspondence. That others thought he was *Elias*; probably judging so from the gravity of his Person, freedom of his Preaching, the fame and reputation of his Miracles, especially since the Scriptures assured them he was not dead, but taken up into Heaven; and had so expressly foretold, that he should return back again. That others look'd upon him as the Prophet *Jeremiah* alive again, of whose return the *Jews* had great expectations, in so much that some of them thought the Soul of *Jeremiah* was re-inspired into *Zacharias*. Or if not thus, at least, that he was one of the more eminent of the ancient Prophets; or that the Souls of some of these Persons had been breathed into him; The Doctrine of the *μετεμάρωσις*, or *Transmigration of Souls* first broached and propagated by *Pythagoras*, being at this time current amongst the *Jews*, and owned by the *Pharisees* as one of their prime Notions and Principles.

2. THIS Account not fulfilling, our Lord comes cloſer and nearer to them; tells them, It was no wonder if the common People were divided into theſe wild thoughts concerning him: but ſince they had been always with him, had been hearers of his Sermons, and ſpectators of his Miracles, he enquired, *what they themſelves* thought of him. *Peter*, ever forward to return an Answer, and therefore by the Fathers frequently ſtyled, *The Mouth of the Apoſtles*.

Apostles, * told him in the name of the rest, That he was the *Messiah*, The *Son of the living God*, promised of old in the Law and the Prophets, heartily desired and looked for by all good men, anointed and set apart by God to be the *King, Priest and Prophet* of his People. To this excellent and comprehensive confession of *S. Peter's*, our Lord returns this great *Eulogie* and Commendation; *Blessed art thou, Simon Bar Jonah, Flesh and Blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven*: That is, this Faith which thou hast now confessed, is not *humane*, contrived by Man's wit, or built upon his testimony, but upon those Notions and Principles which I was sent by God to reveal to the World, and those mighty and solemn attestations, which he has given from Heaven to the truth both of my Person and my Doctrine. And because thou hast so freely made this Confession, therefore I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: That is, that as thy Name signifies a *Stone* or *Rock*, such faith thou thy self be, firm, solid and immovable, in building of the Church, which shall be so orderly erected by thy care and diligence, and so firmly founded upon that faith which thou hast now confessed, that all the assaults and attempts which the powers of Hell can make against it, shall not be able to overturn it. Moreover, I will give unto thee the *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven: That is, thou shalt have that spiritual authority and power within the Church, whereby as with *Keys* thou shalt be able to shut and lock out obstinate and impenitent sinners, and upon their repentance to unlock the door, and take them in again: And what thou shalt thus regularly doe, shall be own'd in the Court above, and ratified by God in Heaven.

3. UPON the several passages, the Champions of the Church of Rome, mainly build the unlimited Supremacy and Infallibility of the Bishops of that See; with how much truth, and how little reason, it is not my present purpose to discuss. It may suffice here to remark, that though this place does very much tend to exalt the honour of *S. Peter*, yet is there nothing herein personal and apocryphal to him alone, as distinct from, and preferred above the rest of the Apostles. Does he here make confession of *Christ's* being the *Son of God*? Yet, besides that herein he spake but the sense of all the rest, this was no more than what others had said as well as he, yea before he was so much as call'd to be a Disciple. Thus *Nathanael* at his first coming to *Christ* expressly told him, *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel*. Does our Lord here style him a *Rock*? All the *Apostles* are elsewhere equally called *Foundations*, yea said to be the *Twelve Foundations upon which the Walls of the new Jerusalem*, that is, the Evangelical Church is erected; and sometimes others of them besides *Peter* are called *Pillars*, as they have relation to the Church already built. Does *Christ* here promise the Keys to *Peter*? that is, Power of Governing, and of exercising *Church-censures*, and of absolving penitent sinners? The very same is elsewhere promised to all the *Apostles*, and almost in the very same terms and words. If *thine offending Brother*, prove obdurate, *tell it unto the Church*; but, if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be *unto thee an Heathen and a Publican*. Verily, I say unto you, *whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven*. And elsewhere, when ready to leave the World, he tells them, *As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained*. By all which it is evident, that our Lord did not here give any personal prerogative to *S. Peter*, as Universal Pastour and

* Τὸ σῶμα τῷ ἀπο-
σώλων ὁ Πάτερ Θε-
ὸς πανταχῶς δι-
μide, ὁ δὲ Χρῆς τῷ
ἀποσώλων κορυ-
φαί Θεοῦ, πάντων
ἐξουσίαν δίδων, αὐ-
τοῦ ἀποκρίναι.
Chrysost. in
Matt. 16. p. 482.

Joh. 1.49

Rev. 21. 14.
Eph. 2. 20.
Gal. 2. 9.

- Matt. 18. 17. 18

Joh. 20.21, -23

Head of the Christian Church, much less to those who were to be his Successors in the See of Rome; But that as he made his Confession in the name of the rest of the Apostles, so what was here promised unto him, was equally intended unto all. Nor did the more considering and judicious part of the Fathers (however giving a mighty reverence to S. Peter) ever understand it in any other sense. Sure I am that *Origen tells us, that every true Christian that makes this Confession with the same Spirit and Integrity which Saint Peter did, shall have the same blessing and commendation from Christ conferred upon him.

4. T H E Holy Jesus, knowing the time of his Passion to draw on, began to prepare the minds of his Apostles against that fatal Hour; telling them what hard and bitter things he should suffer at Jerusalem, what affronts and indignities he must undergo, and be at last put to death with all the arts of torture and disgrace, by the Decree of the Jewish Sanhedrim. Peter, whom our Lord had infinitely encouraged and endeared to him, by the great things which he had lately said concerning him, so that his spirits were now afloat, and his passions ready to overrun the banks, not able to endure a thought that so much evil should befall his Master, broke out into an over-confident and unseasonable interruption of him: *He took him and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord, this shall not be unto thee.* Besides his great kindness and affection to his Master, the minds of the Apostles were not yet thoroughly purged from the hopes and expectations of a glorious reign of the Messiah, so that Peter could not but look upon these sufferings as unbecoming and inconsistent with the state and dignity of the Son of God. And therefore thought good to advise his Lord, to take care of himself, and while there was time to prevent and avoid them. This, our Lord, who valued the redemption of Mankind infinitely before his own ease and safety, rejected at so high a rate, that he returned upon him with this tart and stinging reproof, *Get thee behind me, Satan*; The very same treatment which he once gave to the Devil himself, when he made that insolent proposal to him, *To fall down and worship him*: though in Satan it was the result of pure malice and hatred; in Peter only an error of love and great regard. However our Lord could not but look upon it as a mischievous and diabolical counsel, prompted and promoted by the great adversary of Mankind. Away therefore, says Christ, with thy hellish and pernicious counsel, *Thou art an offence unto me*, in seeking to oppose and undermine that great design, for which I purposely came down from Heaven: In this thou savourest not the things of God, but those that be of men, in suggesting to me those little shifts and arts of safety and self-preservation, which humane prudence, and the love of mens own selves are wont to dictate to them. By which, though we may learn Peter's mighty kindness to our Saviour, yet that herein he did not take his measures right. A plain evidence that his infallibility had not yet taken place.

5. ABOUT a week after this, our Saviour being to receive a Type and Specimen of his future glorification, took with him his three more intimate Apostles, Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee, and went up into a very high Mountain, which the Ancients generally conceive to have been Mount Tabor, a round and very high Mountain, situate in the Plains of Galilee. And now was even literally fulfilled what the Psalmist had spoken, *Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy Name*: for what greater joy and triumph, than to be peculiarly chosen to be the holy Mount, whereon our Lord in so eminent a manner received from God the Father honour and glory, and made such magnificent displays of his Divine power and Majesty? For while they were here earnestly

* Comment. in loc. Tom. 3. fol. 1. fac. 2.

Matth. 16. 21.
Mark 8. 31.
Luk. 9. 22.

Luk. 4. 8.

Matth. 17. 1.
Mark 9. 2.
Luk. 9. 28.

Psal. 89. 12.

earnestly employed in Prayer, (as seldom did our Lord enter upon any eminent action, but he first made his address to Heaven) he was suddenly transformed into another manner of appearance; such a lustre and radiancy darted from his face, that the Sun it self shines not brighter at Noon day; such beams of light reflected from his garments, as out-did the light it self that was round about them, so exceeding pure and white, that the Snow might blush to compare with it; nor could the Fullers art purify any thing into half that whiteness: an evident and sensible representation of the glory of that state, wherein the just shall walk in white, and shine as the Sun in the Kingdom of the Father. During this Heavenly scene, there appeared Moses and Elias, (who, as the Jews say, shall come together) clothed with all the brightness and majesty of a glorified state, familiarly conversing with him, and discoursing of the death and sufferings which he was shortly to undergo, and his departure into Heaven. Behold here together the three greatest persons that ever were the Ministers of Heaven: Moses, under God, the Institutor and Promulgator of the Law; Elias, the great Reformer of it, when under its deepest degeneracy and corruption; and the Blessed Jesus, the Son of God, who came to take away what was weak and imperfect, and to introduce a more manly and rational institution, and to communicate the last Revelation which God would make of his mind to the World. Peter and the two Apostles that were with him, were in the mean time fallen asleep, heavy through want of natural rest, (it being probably night when this was done) or else overpowered with these extraordinary appearances, which the frailty and weakness of their present state could not bear, were fallen into a Trance. But now awaking were strangely surprised to behold our Lord surrounded with so much glory, and those two great persons conversing with him, knowing who they were, probably by some particular marks and signatures that were upon them, or else by immediate revelation, or from the discourse which passed betwixt Christ and them, or possibly from some communication which they themselves might have with them. While these Heavenly guests were about to depart, Peter in a great rapture and ecstacy of mind addressed himself to our Saviour, telling him how infinitely they were pleased and delighted with their being there; and to that purpose desiring his leave, that they might erect three Tabernacles, one for him, one for Moses, and one for Elias. While he was thus saying, a bright cloud suddenly over-shadowed the two great Ministers, and wrapt them up: out of which came a voice, *This is my beloved Son; in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him*: which when the Apostles heard, and saw the cloud coming over themselves, they were seized with a great consternation, and fell upon their faces to the ground, whom our Lord gently touched, bad them arise and disband their fears: whereupon looking up, they saw none but their Master, the rest having vanished and disappeared. In memory of these great transactions, *Bede tells us, that in pursuance of Saint Peter's petition about the three Tabernacles, there were afterwards three Churches built upon the top of this Mountain, which in after times were had in great veneration, which might possibly give some foundation to that report which || one makes, that in his time there were shew'd the ruins of those three Tabernacles, which were built according to S. Peter's desire.

6. AFTER this, our Lord and his Apostles, having travelled through Galilee, the gatherers of the Tribute-money came to Peter, and asked him, whether his Master was not obliged to pay the Tribute, which God, under the Mosaic Law, commanded to be yearly paid by every Jew above Twenty Years old, to the use of the Temple, which so continued to the times of Vespasian, under

* De Lac. Sancti. c. 17.

|| Bern. à Brindol. in Terza Sancti. add. l. Concordia. lib. 3. c. 7. p. 355.

Matth. 17. 24.

under whom the Temple being destroyed, it was by him transferred to the use of the *Capitol at Rome*, being to the value of half a *Shekel*, or Fifteen pence of our money. To this question of theirs, *Peter* positively answers, yes; knowing his Master would never be backward, either to give unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*, or to God the things that are God's. *Peter* going into the house to give an account to his Master, and to know his mind concerning it, *Christ* prevented him with this question, *What thinkest thou, Simon, of whom do Earthly Kings exact Tribute*, of their own Children and Family, or from other People? *Peter* answered, Not from their own Servants and Family, but from Strangers. To which our Lord presently replied, That then according to his own argument and opinion, both he himself, as being the Son of God, and they whom he had taken to be his Menial and Domestick Servants, were free from this Tax of Head-money, yearly to be paid to God. But rather than give offence, by seeming to despise the Temple, and to undervalue that Authority that had settled this Tribute, he resolves to put himself to the expence and charges of a Miracle, and therefore commanded *Peter* to go to the Sea, and take up the first *Fish* which came to his Hook, in whole mouth he should find a piece of money (a *Stater*, in value a *Shekel*, or half a *Crown*) which he took and gave to the *Collectours*, both for his Master and himself.

7. OUR Lord, after this, discoursing to them, how to carry themselves towards their offending Brethren, *Peter*, being desirous to be more particularly informed in this matter, asked our Saviour, How oft a man was obliged to forgive his Brother, in case of offence and trespass, whether seven times were not enough? He told him, That upon his Neighbour's repentance, he was not only bound to do it seven times, but until seventy times seven, that is, he must be indulgent to him, as oft as the offender returns and begs it, and heartily professes his sorrow and repentance. Which he further illustrates by a plain and excellent Parable, and thence draws this Conclusion, That the same measures, either of compassion or cruelty, which men show to their fellow Brethren, they themselves shall meet with at the hands of God, the Supreme Ruler and Justiciary of the World. It was not long after, when a brisk young man addressed himself to our Saviour, to know of him, by what methods he might best attain *Eternal life*. Our Lord, to humble his confidence, bad him sell his Estate, and give it to the poor; and, putting himself under his discipline, he should have a much better treasure in Heaven. The man was rich, and liked not the counsel, nor was he willing to purchase happiness at such a rate; and accordingly went away under great sorrow and discontent. Upon which *Christ* takes occasion to let them know, how hardly those men would get to Heaven, who built their comfort and happiness upon the plenty and abundance of these outward things. *Peter*, taking hold of this opportunity, asked, What return they themselves should make, who had quitted and renounced whatever they had for his sake and service? Our Saviour answers, That no man should be a loser by his service; that, for their parts, they should be recompensed with far greater privileges; and that whoever should forsake houses or lands, kindred and relations, out of love to him and his Religion, should enjoy them again with infinite advantages in this World, if consistent with the circumstances of their state, and those troubles and persecutions which would necessarily arise from the profession of the Gospel: however, they should have what would make infinite amends for all; *Eternal life in the other World*.

Math. 19. 16.
Mark 10. 17.
Luke 18. 18.

8. OUR Saviour, in order to his last fatal journey to *Jerusalem*, that he might the better comply with the Prophecy that went before of him, sent two of his Apostles; who in all probability were *Peter* and *John*, with an Authoritative Commission to fetch him an Ass to ride on, (he had none of his own; he who was rich, for our sakes made himself poor; he lived upon charity all his life, had neither an Ass to ride on, nor an House where to lay his head, no nor after his death a Tomb to lie in, but what the charity of others provided for him) whereon being mounted, and attended with the festivities of the people, he set forward in his journey; wherein there appears an admirable mixture of humility and Majesty: The Ass he rode on became the meanness and meekness of a Prophet; but his arbitrary Commission for the fetching it, and the ready obedience of its owners, spake the prerogative of a King: The Palms born before him, the Garments strew'd in his way, and the joyfull Hosannas and Acclamations of the people, proclaim at once both the Majesty of a Prince, and the Triumph of a Saviour. For such expressions of joy we find were usual in publick and festival solemnities; thus the * Historian describing the Emperor *Commodus* his triumphant return to *Rome*, tells us, that the Senate and whole people of *Rome*, to testify their mighty kindness and veneration for him, came out of the City to meet him, *diaplestei te kai meta strophegumoi an' du rura dexedzonta*, carrying Palms and Laurels along with them, and throwing about all sorts of Flowers that were then in season. In this manner our Lord being entered the City, he soon after retired to *Bethany*, whence he dispatched *Peter* and *John*, to make preparation for the Passover; giving them instructions where he would have it kept. Accordingly they found the person he had described to them, whom they followed home to his house. Whether this was the house of *John* the Evangelist (as *Nicephorus* tells us) situate near Mount *Sion*, or of *Simon* the Leper, or of *Nicodemus*, or of *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, as others severally conjecture; seeing none of the Evangelists have thought fit to tell us, it may not become us curiously to enquire.

Math. 21. 1.

* Herod. lib. 1.
in vii. Comm.
p. 17.

Math. 26. 17.
Mark 14. 12.
Luke 22. 7.

* A. Ecl. lib. 1.
c. 28. p. 104.

SECT.

the rest should forsake and deny him, yet would not be deny him. How far will zeal and an indilcreet affection transport even a good man into vanity and presumption! *Peter* questions others, but never doubts himself. So natural is self-love, so apt are we to take the fairest measures of our selves. Nay, though our Lord had but a little before, once and again reproved this vain humour, yet does he still, not onely persist, but grow up in it. So hardly are we brought to espy our own faults, or to be so thoroughly convinced of them, as to correct and reform them. This confidence of his inspired all the rest with a mighty courage, all the Apostles likewise assuring him of their constant and unshaken adhering to him. Our Lord returning the same answer to *Peter* which he had done before. From hence they went down into the Village of *Gethsemane*, where, leaving the rest of the Apostles, he, accompanied with none but *Peter*, *James* and *John*, retired into a neighbouring Garden, (whither, * *Eusebius* tells us, Christians even in his time were wont to come solemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven, and where, as the || *Arabian Geographer* informs us, a fair and stately Church was built to the honour of the *Virgin Mary*) to enter upon the Ante-scene of the fatal Tragedy that was now approaching; it bearing a very fit proportion (as some of the * *Fathers* have observed) that as the first *Adam* fell and ruin'd mankind in a Garden, so a Garden should be the place where the second *Adam* should begin his Passion, in order to the Redemption of the World. Gardens, which to us are places of repose and pleasure, and scenes of divertissement and delight, were to our Lord a school of Temptation, a Theatre of great horrors and sufferings, and the first approaches of the hour of darkness.

4. HERE it was that the Blessed *Jesus* laboured under the bitterest *Agony* that could fall upon humane Nature, which the holy Story describes by words sufficiently expressive of the highest grief and sorrow, he was afraid, sorrowfull and very heavy, yea, his Soul was *μελνν*, exceeding sorrowfull, and that even unto death, he was sore amazed, and very heavy, he was troubled, *ταραχ*, his Soul was shaken with a vehement commotion; yea, he was in an *Agony*, a word by which the *Greeks* were wont to represent the greatest conflicts and anxieties. The effect of all which was, that he prayed more earnestly, offering up prayers and supplications with strong cries and tears, as the Apostle expounds it, and sweat, as it were, great drops of blood falling to the ground. What this bloody sweat was, and how far natural or extraordinary, I am not now concerned to enquire. Certain it is, it was a plain evidence of the most intense grief and sadness: for if an extreme fear or trouble will many times cast us into a cold sweat, how great must be the commotion and conflict of our Saviour's mind, which could force open the pores of his body, lock'd up by the coldness of the night, and make not drops of sweat, but great drops, or (as the word *δεξυ* signifies) clods of blood to issue from them. While our Lord was thus contending with these Ante-Passions, the three Apostles, whom he had left at some distance from him, being tired out with watching, and disposed by the silence of the Night, were fallen fast asleep. Our Lord, who had made three several addresses unto Heaven, that, if it might consist with his Father's will, this bitter *Cup* might pass from him, (expressing herein the harmless and innocent desires of humane Nature, which always studies its own preservation) between each of them came to visit the Apostles, and calling to *Peter*, asked him, *Whether they could not watch with him one hour?* advising them to watch and pray, that they enter'd not into temptation, adding this Argument, That the spirit indeed was willing, but that the flesh was weak, and

and that therefore there was the more need that they should stand upon their guard. Observe here the incomparable sweetness, the generous candour of our blessed Saviour, to pass so charitable a censure upon an action, from whence malice and ill-nature might have drawn monsters and prodigies, and have represented it black as the shades of darkness. The request which our Lord made to these Apostles, was, infinitely reasonable, to watch with him in his bitter *Agony*, their company at least being some refreshment to one, under such sad fatal circumstances; and this but for a little time, one hour, it would soon be over, and then they might freely consult their own ease and safety: 'Twas their dear Lord and Master, whom they now were to attend upon, ready to lay down his life for them, sweating already under the first skirmishes of his sufferings, and expecting every moment when all the powers of darkness would fall upon him. But all these considerations were drown'd in a profound security, the men were fast asleep, and though often awakened and told of it, regarded it not, as if nothing but ease and softness had been then to be dream'd of. An Action that look'd like the most prodigious ingratitude, and the highest unconcernedness for their Lord and Master, and which one would have thought had argued a very great coldness and indifferency of affection towards him. But he would not let it upon the Tenters, nor stretch it to what it might easily have been drawn to: he imputes it not to their unthankfulness, or want of affection, nor to their carelessness of what became of him, but merely to their infirmity and the weakness of their bodily temper, himself making the excuse, when they could make none for themselves, *the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak*. Hereby teaching us, to put the most candid and favourable construction upon those actions of others, which are capable of various interpretations, and rather with the Bee to suck honey, than with the Spider to draw poison from them. His last Prayer being ended, he came to them, and told them with a gentle rebuke, That now they might sleep on if they pleased, that the hour was at hand, that he should be betrayed, and delivered into the hands of men.

5. WHILE he was thus discoursing to them, a Band of Souldiers sent from the High-priests, with the Traitor *Judas* to conduct and direct them, rush'd into the Garden, and seized upon him: which when the Apostles saw, they asked him whether they should attempt his rescue. *Peter* (whose ungovernable zeal put him upon all dangerous undertakings) without staying for an answer drew his Sword, and espying one more buse than the rest in laying hold upon our Saviour, which was *Malchus* (who, though carrying *Kingship* in his name, was but *Servant* to the High-priest) struck at him, with an intention to dispatch him: but God over-ruling the froak, it only cut off his right Ear. Our Lord liked not this wild and unwarrantable zeal, and therefore intreated their patience, whilst he miraculously healed the Wound. And turning to *Peter*, bad him put up his Sword again; told him, that they who unwarrantably used the Sword, should themselves perish by it; that there was no need of these violent and extravagant courages; that if he had a mind to be rid of his Keepers, he could ask his Father, who would presently send more than twelve Legions of Angels to his rescue and deliverance: But he must drink the Cup which his Father had put into his hand: for how else should the Scriptures be fulfilled, which had expressly foretold, That these things must be? Whereupon, all the Apostles forsook him, and fled from him; and they who before in their promises were as bold as Lions, now it came to it, like fearful and timorous Hares, ran away from him: *Peter* and *John*, though staying last with him, yet fol-

lowed the same way with the rest, preferring their own safety before the concerns of their Master.

6. NO sooner was he apprehended by the Souldiers, and brought out of the Garden, but he was immediately potted from one Tribunal to another, brought first to *Annas*, then carried to *Caiaphas*, where the *Jewish Sanhedrim* met together in order to his Trial and Condemnation. *Peter* having a little recovered himself, and gotten loose from his fears, probably encouraged by his Companion *S. John*, returns back to seek his Master: And finding them leading him to the High-priest's Hall, followed afar off, to see what would be the event and issue. But coming to the Door, could get no admittance, till one of the Disciples who was acquainted there, went out and persuaded the Servant, who kept the Door, to let him in. Being let into the Hall, where the Servants and Officers stood round the Fire, *Peter* also came thither to warm himself, where being espied by the Servant-maid that let him in, she, earnestly looking upon him, charged him with being one of *Christ's* Disciples; which *Peter* publicly denied before all the Company, positively affirming, that he knew him not; And presently withdrew himself into the Porch, where he heard the Cock crow: An intimation, which one would have thought should have awakened his Conscience into a quick sense of his duty, and the promise he had made unto his Master. In the Porch, another of the Maids let upon him, charging him that he also was one of them that had been with *Jesus* of Nazareth: which *Peter* stoutly denied, saying, that he knew not *Christ*; and the better to gain their belief to what he said, ratified it with an Oath. So natural is it for one sin to draw on another.

7. ABOUT an hour after, he was a third time set upon, by a Servant of the High-priest, *Malchus* his Kinsman, whose Ear *Peter* had lately cut off: By him he was charged to be one of *Christ's* Disciples; Yea, that his very speech betrayed him to be a Galilean. For the Galileans, though they did not speak a different language, had yet a different dialect, using a more confused and barbarous, a broader and more unpolished way of pronunciation than the rest of the Jews; whereby they were easily distinguishable in their speaking from other men: abundant instances whereof there are extant in the Talmud at this day. Nay, not only gave this evidence, but added, that he himself had seen him with *Jesus* in the Garden. *Peter* still resolutely denied the matter, and to add the highest accomplishment to his sin, ratified it not only with an Oath, but a solemn Curse and Execration, that he was not the person, that he knew not the man. 'Tis but a very weak excuse, which

* *S. Ambrose* and some others make for this Act of *Peter's*, in saying, *I knew not the Man. He did well* (says he) *to deny him to be Man, whom he knew not to be God.* || *S. Hierom* takes notice of this pious and well-meant excuse made for *Peter*, though out of modesty he conceals the name of its Author, but yet justly censures it as trifling and frivolous, and which to excuse *Man* from folly, would charge *God* with fallhood: for if he did not deny him, then our Lord was out, when he said, that, *that Night he should thrice deny him*, that is, his Person, and not only his humanity. Certainly the best Apology that can be made for *Peter* is, that he quickly repented of this great sin; for no sooner had he done it, but the Cock crew again; at which intimation our Saviour turn'd about, and earnestly looked upon him: a glance that quickly pierced him to the Heart, and brought to his remembrance, what our Lord had once and again foretold him of, how foully and shamefully he should deny him: whereupon not being able to contain his sorrow, he ran out of Doors to give it vent, and wept bitterly, passionately bewailing

* *Beni* negavit hominem, quem sciebat Dominum. Ambros. in Luc. 22. Tim. 5. p. 157. vid. Hilari. comment. in Matth. p. 328. || *Hieron.* in Matth. 26. p. 81. Tom. 5. vid. August. in Joan. Tract. lxxvi. col. 417. Tom. 5.

bewailing his folly, and the aggravations of his sin; thereby endeavouring to make some reparation for his fault, and recover himself into the favour of Heaven, and to prevent the execution of Divine Justice, by taking a severe revenge upon himself: by these penitential tears he endeavoured to wash off his guilt; as indeed Repentance is the next step to Innocence.

SECT. VI.

Of S. Peter, from Christ's Resurrection, till his Ascension.

Our Lord's care to acquaint Peter with his Resurrection. His going to the Sepulchre. Christ's appearance to Peter, when, and the Reasons of it: The Apostles Journey into Galilee: Christ's appearing to them at the Sea of Tiberias; His being discovered by the great draught of Fishes. Christ's questioning Peter's love; and why. Feed my Sheep, commended to Peter, imports no peculiar supereminent power and sovereignty. Peter's death and sufferings foretold. Our Lord takes his last leave of the Apostles at Bethany. His Ascension into Heaven. The Chapel of the Ascension. The Apostles joy at their Lord's Exaltation.

1. WHAT became of *Peter* after his late Prevarication, whether he followed our Saviour through the several stages of his Trial, and personally attended, as a Mourner at the Funerals of his Master, we have no account left upon Record. No doubt he stayed at Jerusalem, and probably with *S. John*, together with whom we first find him mentioned, when both setting forwards to the Sepulchre: which was in this manner. Early on that Morning, whereon our Lord was to return from the Grave, *Mary Mag-* Mark 16. 1.
dalen, and some other devout and pious Women brought Spices and Ointments, with a design to embalm the Body of our crucified Lord. Coming to the Sepulchre at Sun-rising, and finding the Door open, they entred in, where they were suddenly saluted by an Angel, who told them, that *Jesus* was risen, and bad them go and acquaint his Apostles, and particularly *Peter*, that he was returned from the dead; and that he would go before them into Galilee, where they should meet with him. Hereupon they returned back, and acquainted the Apostles with what had passed; who beheld the story as the product of a weak, frightened fancy. But *Peter* and *John* presently hastned towards the Garden; *John*, being the younger and nimble, out-ran his Companion, and came first thither, where he only looked, but entred not in, either out of fear in himself, or a great Reverence to our Saviour. *Peter*, though behind in space, was before in zeal, and being elder and more considerate, came and resolutely entred in, where they found nothing but the Linen Clothes lying together in one place, and the Napkin that was about his Head wrapped together in another; which being disposed with so much care and order, shewed (what was falsely suggested by the Jews) that our Saviour's Body was not taken away by Thieves, who are wont more to consult their escape, than how to leave things orderly disposed behind them.

Luke 24. 12. John 20. 2.

ter, yet the very same power in equivalent terms is elsewhere indifferently granted to all the Apostles, and in some measure to the ordinary Pastours and Governours of the Church: As when our Lord told them, That *all power was given him in Heaven and in Earth*, by virtue whereof they should go teach and baptize all Nations, and preach the Gospel to every Creature: That they should feed God's flock, Rule well, inspect and watch over those over whom they had the Authority and Rule. Words of as large and more express signification, than those which were here spoken to S. Peter.

5. OUR Lord having thus engaged Peter to a chearfull compliance with the dangers that might attend the discharge and execution of his Office, now particularly intimates to him what that fate was that should attend him: telling him, that though when he was young he girt himself, lived at his own pleasure and went whither he pleased; yet when he was old, he should stretch forth his hands, and another should gird and bind him, and lead him whither he had no mind to go: intimating, as the Evangelist tells us, by what death he should glorify God, that is, by Crucifixion, the Martyrdom which he afterward underwent. And then rising up, commanded him to follow him; by this bodily attendance mystically implying his conformity to the death of Christ, that he should follow him in dying for the truth and testimony of the Gospel. It was not long after, that our Lord appeared to them to take his last farewell of them, when leading them out unto *Bethany*, a little Village upon the Mount of Olives, he briefly told them, That they were the persons, whom he had chosen to be the witnesses both of his Death and Resurrection; a testimony which they should bear to him in all parts of the World: In order to which he would after his Ascension pour out his Spirit upon them in larger measures than they had hitherto received, that they might be the better fortified to grapple with that violent rage and fury wherewith both Men and Devils would endeavour to oppose them; and that in the mean time they should return to Jerusalem, and stay till these miraculous powers were from on high conferred upon them. His discourse being ended, laying his hands upon them, he gave them his solemn blessing: which done, he was immediately taken from them, and being attended with a glorious guard and train of Angels, was received up into Heaven. * Antiquity tells us, that in the place where he last trod upon the rock, the impression of his feet did remain, which could never afterwards be filled up or impaired, over which *Helena*, Mother of the Great Constantine, afterwards built a little Chapel, called the Chapel of the Ascension; in the floor whereof upon a whitish kind of stone, modern Travellers tell us, that the impression of his Foot is shewed at this day; but 'tis that of his right foot only, the other being taken away by the Turks, and, as 'tis said, kept in the Temple at Jerusalem. Our Lord being thus taken from them, the Apostles were filled with a greater sense of his glory and majesty, than while he was wont familiarly to converse with them; and having performed their solemn adorations to him, returned back to Jerusalem, waiting for the promise of the Holy Ghost, which was shortly after conferred upon them. They worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy. They who lately were overwhelmed with sorrow at the very mention of their Lord's departure from them, entertained it now with joy and triumph, being fully satisfied of his glorious advancement at God's right hand, and of that particular care and providence which they were sure he would exercise towards them, in pursuance of those great trusts he had committed to them.

Acts 1. 8.
Luke 24. 49.

* Paulin. Epist. 3.
ad Sever. lib. 2.
p. 130. Sulp.
Sever. Hist. Sac.
lib. 2. p. 145.
Hieron. de loc.
Heb. in Act. App.
p. 257. Tom. 3.
l. j. Ciceron.
Rom. lib. 2. c. 11.
p. 271. vid. Sand.
Relat. l. 3. p. 156.
Luke 24. 52.

S E C T.

S E C T. VII.

S. Peter's Acts, from our Lord's Ascension, till the Dispersion of the Church.

The Apostles return to Jerusalem. The *ἄνωρον*, or Upper-room, where they assembled, what. Peter declares the necessity of a new Apostle's being chosen in the room of Judas. The promise of the Holy Ghost made upon the day of Pentecost. The Spirit descended in the likeness of fiery cloven tongues, and why. The greatness of the Miracle. Peter's vindication of the Apostles from the slanders of the Jews, and proving Christ to be the promised Messiah. Great numbers converted by his Sermon. His going up to the Temple. What their stated hours of Prayer. His curing the impotent Cripple there, and discourse to the Jews upon it. What numbers converted by him. Peter and John seized and cast into prison. Brought before the Sanhedrim, and their resolute carriage there. Their refusing to obey, when commanded not to preach Christ. The great security the Christian Religion provides for subjection to Magistrates in all lawful instances of Obedience. The severity used by Peter towards Ananias and Saphira. The great Miracles wrought by him. Again cast into Prison, and delivered by an Angel. Their appearing before the Sanhedrim; and deliverance, by the prudent counsels of Gamaliel.

1. THE Holy Jesus being gone to Heaven, the Apostles began to act according to the Power and Commission he had left with them. In order whereunto, the first thing they did after his Ascension, was to fill up the vacancy in their College, lately made by the unhappy fall and Apostasy of Judas. To which end no sooner were they returned to Jerusalem, but they went *εἰς ἄνωρον*, into an upper room. Where this *ἄνωρον* was, whether in the house of S. John, or of Mary John-Mark's Mother, or in some of the out-rooms belonging to the Temple, (for the Temple had over the Cloisters several Chambers for the service of the Priests and Levites, and as Repositories, where the consecrated Vessels and Utensils of the Temple were laid up, though it be not probable, that the Jews, and especially the Priests would suffer the Apostles and their company to be so near the Temple) I stand not to enquire. 'Tis certain that the Jews usually had their *ἄνωρον*, private Oratories in the upper parts of their houses, called *קליות*, for the more private exercises of their devotions. Thus Daniel had his *קליות*, his upper-Chamber, (*קליות* the LXX. render it) whither he was wont to retire to pray to his God: and * Benjamin the Jew tells us, that in his time (Ann. * Benj. l. i. p. 76. Christ. 1172.) the Jews at Babylon were wont to pray both in their Synagogues, *קליות*, and in that ancient upper-room of Daniel, which the Prophet himself built. Such an *ἄνωρον*, or upper-Chamber, was that wherein S. Paul Acts 20. 8. preached at Troas: and such probably this, where the Apostles were now met together, and in all likelihood the same, where our Lord had lately kept the Passover, where the Apostles and the Church were assembled on the day of Pentecost, and which was then the usual place of their Religious Assemblies, as we have elsewhere observed more at large. Here the Church being met to the number of about CXX, Peter, as President of the Assembly, began to speak, and, applying himself to the whole Congregation, proposed

to

* Prim. Christ.
Part 1. Ch. 6.
p. 126.

|| Homil. 3. in
Act. p. 28.

Acts 1. 15.

to them the choice of a new Apostle. And 'tis the remark which || S. Chrysostome makes upon this passage, that *Peter* herein would doe nothing without the common consent and approbation, *ὅθεν ἀποστόλους, ὅθεν ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, assuming no peculiar supereminent power and authority to himself. He put them in mind, that *Judas*, one of our Lord's Apostles, being betrayed by his own covetous and insatiable mind, had lately fallen from the honour of his place and ministry: that this was no more than what the Prophet had long since foretold should come to pass, and that the rule and oversight in the Church, which had been committed unto him, should be devolved upon another: that therefore it was highly necessary, that one should be substituted in his room, and especially such a one as had been familiarly conversant with our Saviour, from first to last, that so he might be a competent witness both of his doctrine and miracles, his life and death, but especially of his Resurrection from the dead. For seeing no evidence is so valid and satisfactory, as the testimony of an eye-witness, the Apostles all along mainly insisted upon this, that they delivered no other things concerning our Saviour to the World, than what they themselves had seen and heard. And seeing his rising from the Dead was a principle likely to meet with a great deal of opposition, and which would hardiest gain belief and entertainment with the minds of men, therefore they principally urg'd this at every turn, that they were eye-witnesses of his Resurrection, that they had seen, felt, eaten and familiarly conversed with him after his return from the Grave. That therefore such an Apostle might be chosen, two Candidates were proposed, *Joseph*, called *Barsabas*, and *Matthias*. And having prayed that the Divine Providence would immediately guide and direct the choice, they cast lots, and the lot fell upon *Matthias*, who was accordingly admitted into the number of the twelve Apostles.

Acts 2. 1.

2. FIFTY days since the last Passover being now run out, made way for the Feast of Pentecost. At what time the great promise of the Holy Ghost was fully made good unto them. The Christian Assembly being met together, for the publick services of their Worship, on a sudden a sound, like that of a mighty wind, rush'd in upon them; representing the powerfull efficacy of that Divine Spirit, that was now to be communicated to them: After which there appeared little flames of fire, which, in the fashion of Cloven Tongues, not only descended, but sat upon each of them, probably to note their perpetual enjoyment of this gift upon all occasions, that when necessary, they should never be without it; not like the Propheticall gifts of old, which were conferred but sparingly, and only at some particular times and seasons. As the *seventy Elders prophesied and ceased not*, but it was only at such times as the Spirit came down and rested upon them. Hereupon they were all immediately filled with the Holy Ghost, which enabled them in an instant to speak several Languages, which they had never learn'd, and probably never heard of, together with other miraculous gifts and powers. Thus as the confounding of Languages became a curse to the old World, separating men from all mutual offices of kindness and commerce, rendering one part of Mankind Barbarians to another: so here, the multiplying several Languages became a blessing, being intended as the means to bring men of all Nations into the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, into the fellowship of that Religion, that would banish discords, cement differences, and unite mens hearts in the bond of peace. The report of so sudden and strange an action presently spread it self into all corners of the City, and there being at that time at Jerusalem multitudes of Jewish Proselytes, Devout men out of every Nation under Heaven, Parthians, Medes, Elamites (or Persians) the dwellers in Mesopotamia and Judaea, Cappadocia, Pontus

Numb. 11. 25.

Pontus and Asia minor, from Phrygia and Pamphylia, from Egypt and the parts of Libya and Cyrene, from Rome, from Crete, from Arabia, Jews and Proselytes (probably drawn thither by the general report and expectation which had spread it self over all the

* Eastern parts, and in a manner over all places of the Roman Empire, of the Jewish Messiah, that about this time should be born at Jerusalem) they no sooner heard of it, but universally flocked to this Christian Assembly: where they were amazed to hear these Galileans speaking to them in their own native Languages, so various, so vastly different from one other. And it could not but exceedingly encrease the wonder to reflect upon the meanness and inconsiderableness of the persons, neither assisted by natural parts, nor polished by education, nor improved by use and custome: which three things Philosophers require to render a man accurate and extraordinary in any art or discipline, *ὅπως ᾧ ἀνδρὶ μαθήσιμος τυ. Περ. μισθ. ἑλόν. μαθήσιμος διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποκρίσις ὁμοίαν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς, Plu. ἀπογ. p. 2.*

tarch; Natural disposition without institution is blind, instruction without a genius and disposition is defective, and exercise without both is lame and imperfect. Whereas these Disciples had not one of these to fet them off; their parts were mean, below the rate of the common people, the Galileans being generally accounted the rudest and most stupid of the whole Jewish Nation; their education had been no higher than to catch Fish, and to mend Nets; nor had they been used to plead causes, or to deliver themselves before great Assemblies; but spoke on a sudden, not premeditated discourses; not idle stories, or wild roving fancies, but the great and admirable works of God, and the mysteries of the Gospel beyond humane apprehensions to find out, and this delivered in almost all the Languages of the then known World. Men were severally affected with it, according to their different tempers and apprehensions. Some admiring, and not knowing what to think on't; others, deriding it, said, that it was nothing else but the wild raving effect of drunkenness and intemperance. At so wild a rate are men of prophane minds wont to talk, when they take upon them to pass their censure in the things of God.

3. HEREUPON the Apostles rose up, and Peter, in the name of the rest, took this occasion of discouraging to them: He told them, that this scandalous slander proceeded from the spirit of malice and falsehood; that their censure was as uncharitable, as it was unreasonable; that they that are drunken, are drunk in the night; that it was against nature and custome for men to be in drink so soon, too early for such a suspicion to take place, it being now but about nine of the clock, the hour for Morning Prayer, till when men even of ordinary sobriety and devotion on Festival days were wont to fast. That these extraordinary and miraculous passages were but the accomplishment of an ancient Prophecy, the fulfilling of what God had expressly foretold should come to pass in the times of the Messiah; that Jesus of Nazareth had evidently approv'd himself to be the Messiah sent from God by many unquestionable miracles, of which they themselves had been eye-witnesses: And though by God's permission, who had determined by this means to bring about the Salvation of mankind, they had wickedly crucified and slain him, yet that God had raised him from the dead: That it was not possible he should be holden always under the dominion of the Grave; nor was it consistent with the justice and goodness of God, and especially with those Divine predictions which had expressly foretold he should rise again from the dead: David having more particularly foretold,

H

That

* Percebebat Orientis tota vocem ex constant opinio, esse in factis, ut eo tempore Judaei profecti verum possentur. Id de Imperatore, Cyre. Successor. in vit. Vespas. c. 4. p. 728. eadem habet Tacitus Histor. l. 5. c. 13. p. 540.

Περ. μισθ. ἀπογ. p. 2.

Περ. μισθ. ἀπογ. p. 2. 1020.

That his flesh should rest in hope, that God would not leave his Soul in Hell, neither suffer his holy one to see corruption; but would make known to him the ways of life: That this Prophecy could not be meant concerning David himself, by whom it was spoken, he having many Ages since been turn'd to ashes, his body resolv'd into rottenness and putrefaction, his Tomb yet visible among them, from whence he never did return; that therefore it must needs have been prophetically spoken concerning Christ, having never been truly fulfill'd in any but him, who both died, and was risen again, whereof they were witnesses. Yea, that he was not only risen from the dead, but ascend'd into Heaven, and according to David's prediction, *Sate down on God's right hand, until he made his Enemies his foot-stool:* which could not be primarily meant of David, he never having yet *bodily* ascend'd into Heaven; that therefore the whole house of Israel ought to believe, and take notice, that this very Jesus, whom they had crucified, was the person whom God had appointed to be the Messiah and the Saviour of his Church.

4. THIS discourse in every part of it, like so many daggers, pierc'd them to the heart; who thereupon cry'd out to Peter and his Brethren to know what they should doe. Peter told them, that there was no other way, than by an hearty and sincere repentance, and a being baptized into the Religion of this crucified Saviour, to expiate their guilt, to obtain pardon of sin, and the gifts and benefits of the Holy Ghost. That upon these terms the promises of the new Covenant, which was ratified by the death of Christ, did belong to them and their children, and to all that should effectually believe and embrace the Gospel: farther pressing and persuading them by doing thus, to save themselves from that unavoidable ruine and destruction, which this wicked and untoward generation of obstinate unbelieving Jews were shortly to be expos'd to. The effects of his preaching were strange and wonderfull: as many as believed were baptized: there being that day added to the Church no less than *three thousand souls*. A quick and plentiful harvest; the late sufferings of our Saviour, as yet fresh bleeding in their memories, the present miraculous powers of the Holy Ghost, that appeared upon them, the zeal of his Auditours, though heretofore misplaced and misguided, and above all, the efficacy of Divine grace, contributing to this numerous conversion.

5. THOUGH the converting so vast a multitude might justly challenge a place amongst the greatest miracles, yet the Apostles began now more particularly to exercise their miraculous power. Peter and John going up to the Temple, about three of the clock in the afternoon, towards the conclusion of one of the solemn hours of Prayer, (for the Jews divided their day into four greater hours, each quarter containing three lesser under it, three of which were publick and stated times of prayer, instituted (say they) by the three great Patriarchs of their Nation; the first from six of the clock in the morning till nine, called hence the *third hour of the day*, instituted by Abraham, this was called *שחרית* *or morning prayer*: the second from nine till twelve, called the *sixth hour*, and this hour of prayer ordain'd by Isaac, this was called *מזרח* *or mid-day prayer*: the third from twelve till three in the afternoon, called the *ninth hour*, appointed by Jacob, called *ערבית* *or evening prayer*; and at this hour it was that these two Apostles went up to the Temple, where) they found a poor impotent Cripple, who, though above forty years old, had been lame from his Birth, lying at the *beautiful Gate of the Temple*, and asking an Alms of them. Peter earnestly looking on him, told him, he had no money to give him, but that he would give him that which was a

great

great deal better, restore him to his health; and lifting him up by the hand, commanded him in the Name of Jesus of Nazareth to rise up and walk. The word was no sooner said, than the thing was done: Immediately the Nerves and Sinews were enlarged, and the Joynts returned to their proper use. The man standing up went into the Temple walking, leaping and praising God. The beholding so sudden and extraordinary a Cure begot great admiration in the minds of the People, whose curiosity drew them to the Apostles to see those who had been the Authors of it. Which Peter taking notice of, began to discourse to them to this effect; That there was no reason they should wonder at them, as if by their own skill and art they had wrought this Cure, it being intirely done in the Name of their crucified Master, by the Power of that very Christ, that Holy and Just Person, whom they themselves had denied and delivered up to Pilate, and preferred a Rebel and a Murderer before him, when his Judge was resolv'd to acquit him: and that though they had put him to death, yet that they were witnesses, that God had rais'd him up again, and that he was gone to Heaven, where he must remain till the times of the General Resurrection: That he presumed that this in them, as also in their Rulers, was in a great measure the effect of ignorance, and the not being thoroughly convinced of the Greatness and Divinity of his Person; which yet God made use of for the bringing about his Wise and Righteous Designs, the accomplishing of what he had foretold concerning Christ's Person and Sufferings, by Moses and Samuel, and all the holy Prophets which had been since the World began: That therefore it was now high time for them to repent, and turn to God, that their great wickedness might be expiated, and that when Christ should shortly come in Judgment upon the Jewish Nation, it might be a time of comfort and refreshing to them, what would be of vengeance and destruction to other men: that they were the peculiar persons, to whom the blessings of the promises did primarily appertain, and unto whom God in the first place sent his Son, that he might derive his Blessing upon them by turning them away from their iniquities. While Peter was thus discoursing to the People in one place, we may suppose that John was preaching to them in another; and the success was answerable. The Apostles cast out the seed, and God immediately gave the increase. There being by this means no fewer than *Five* ARS 4. 4. *Thousand* brought over to the Faith: though 'tis possible the whole Body of Believers might be comprehended in that number.

6. WHILE the Apostles were thus Preaching, the Priests and Sadducees (who particularly appear'd in this business, as being enemies to all tumults, or whatever might disturb their present ease and quiet, the onely portion of happiness they expected; besides that they hated Christianity, because so expressly asserting the Resurrection) being vexed to hear this Doctrine vented amongst the People, intimated to the Magistrate, that this Concourse might probably tend to an Uproar and Insurrection: Whereupon they came with the Captain of the Temple (Commander of the Tower of Antonia, which stood close by, on the North-side of the Temple, wherein was a Roman Garrison to prevent or suppress, especially at Festival times, Popular Tumults and Uproars) who seiz'd on the Apostles, and put them into Prison. The next day they were converted before the Jewish Sanhedrim; and being asked by what Power and Authority they had done this; Peter resolutely answered, That as to the Cure done to this impotent Person, Be it known to them and all the Jews, that it was perfectly wrought in the Name of that Jesus of Nazareth, whom they themselves had crucified, and God had rais'd from the dead, and whom, though they had thrown him by as waste and rubbish,

H 2

rubbish,

ARS 3. 1.

Vid. Drus. in
ARS 3. 1.

ARS 4. 1.

those that were scattered, *Philip the Deacon* was driven down unto *Samaria*, where he preached the Gospel, and confirmed his preaching by many miraculous cures, and disposing Devils. In this City there was one *Simon*, who by Magick Arts and Diabolical Sorceries sought to advance himself into a great fame and reputation with the People, inasmuch that they generally beheld him as the *great power of God*, for so the *Ancients* tell us, he used to style himself, giving out himself to be the *first and chiefest Deity*, the *Father*, who is *God over all*, that is, that he was that which in every Nation was accounted the supreme Deity. This man hearing the Sermons, and beholding the Miracles that were done by *Philip*, gave up himself amongst the number of believers, and was baptized with them. The Apostles, who yet remained at *Jerusalem*, having heard of the great success of *Philip's* ministry at *Samaria*, thought good to send some of their number to his assistance. And accordingly deputed *Peter* and *John*, who came thither. Where having prayed for, and laid their hands upon these new converts, they presently received the Holy Ghost. *Simon the Magician* observing that by laying on of the Apostles' hands, miraculous gifts were conferred upon men, offered them a considerable sum of money to invest him with this power, that on whom he laid his hands they might receive the Holy Ghost. *Peter* perceiving his rotten and insincere intentions, rejected his impious motion with scorn and detestation: *Thy money perish with thee*. He told him that his heart was naught and hypocritical; that he could have no share nor portion in so great a privilege; that it more concern'd him to repent of so great a wickedness, and sincerely seek to God, than to the thought of his heart might be forgiven him; for that he perceived that he had a very vitious and corrupt temper and constitution of mind, and was as yet bound up under a very wretched and miserable state, displeasing to God, and dangerous to himself. The Conscience of the man was a little startled with this, and he prayed the Apostles to intercede with Heaven, that God would pardon his sin, and that none of these things might fall upon him. But how little cure this wrought upon him, we shall find elsewhere, when we shall again meet with him afterwards. The Apostles having thus confirmed the Church at *Samaria*, and preached up and down in the Villages thereabouts, returned back to *Jerusalem*, to joyn their counsel and assistance to the rest of the Apostles.

2. THE storm, though violent, being at length blown over, the Church enjoyed a time of great calmness and serenity: during which *Peter* went out to visit the Churches lately planted in those parts by those Disciples who had been dispersed by the persecution at *Jerusalem*. Coming down to *Lydda*, the first thing he did was to work a cure upon one *Aeneas*, who being crippled with the Palsie, had layn bed-ridden for eight years together. *Peter* coming to him, bad him in the name of *Christ* to arise, and the man was immediately restored to perfect health. A miracle that was not confined only to his person, for being known abroad generally brought over the Inhabitants of that place. The fame of this miracle having flown to *Joppa*, a Sea-port Town, some six miles thence; the Christians there presently sent for *Peter* upon this occasion. *Tabitha*, whose Greek name was *Dorcas*, a woman venerable for her piety and diffusive charity; was newly dead, to the great lamentation of all good men, and much more to the loss of the poor that had been relieved by her. *Peter*, coming to the house, found her dressed up for her Funeral solemnity, and compassed about with the sorrowful Widows, who shewed the Coats and Garments wherewith she had clothed them, the badges of her charitable liberality. *Peter*, shutting all out, kneeled down and prayed, and then turning him to the body, commanded her to arise, and lifting her

her up by the hand, presented her in perfect health to her friends, and those that were about her: by which he confirmed many, and converted more to the Faith. After which he staid some considerable time at *Joppa*, lodging in the house of *Simon a Tanner*.

3. WHILE he abode in this City, retiring one morning to the house-top to pray, (as the Jews frequently did, having thence a free and open prospect towards *Jerusalem* and the Temple) it being now near Noon, which was the conclusion of one of their stated times of Prayer, he found himself hungry, and called for meat: but while it was preparing he himself fell into a Trance, wherein was presented to him a large sheet let down from Heaven, containing all sorts of Creatures, clean and unclean; a voice at the same time calling to him, that he should rise, kill freely, and indifferently feed upon them; *Peter* tenacious as yet of the Rites and Institutions of the *Mosaic Law*, rejoyn'd, That he could not do it, having never eaten any thing that was common or unclean. To which the voice replied, That what God had cleansed he should not account or call common. Which being done thrice, the Vessel was again taken up into Heaven, and the Vision presently disappeared. By this symbolick representation, though *Peter* at present knew not what to make of it, God was teaching him a new lesson, and preparing him to go upon an Errand and Embassy, which the Spirit at the same time expressly commanded him to undertake. While he was in this doubtfull posture of mind, three messengers knock'd at the door, enquiring for him, from whom he received this account: That *Cornelius a Roman*, Captain of a Band of *Italian Souldiers* at *Cæsarea*, a person of great Piety and Religion (being a *Profelyte* at the Gate, who though not observing an exact conformity to the Rites of the *Mosaic Law*, did yet maintain some general correspondence with it, and lived under the obligation of the seven Precepts of the *Sons of Noah*) had by an immediate command from God sent for him. The next day *Peter*, accompanied with some of the Brethren, went along with them, and the day after they came to *Cæsarea*. Against whose arrival *Cornelius* had summoned his friends and kindred to his house. *Peter* arriving, *Cornelius* (who was affected with a mighty reverence for so great a Person) fell at his Feet and worshipped him: a way of address frequent in those Eastern Countries towards Princes and great men, but by the Greeks and Romans appropriated as a peculiar honour to the gods. *Peter*, rejecting the honour, as due only to God, entered into the house, where he first made his Apology to the Company, that though they could not but know, that it was not lawful for a Jew to converse in the duties of Religion with those of another Nation, yet that now God had taught him another lesson. And then proceeded particularly to enquire the reason of *Cornelius*'s sending for him. Whereupon *Cornelius* told him, That four days since, being conversant in the duties of Fasting and Prayer, an Angel had appeared to him, and told him, that his Prayers and Alms were come up for a memorial before God, that he should send to *Joppa* for one *Simon Peter*, who lodged in a Tanner's house by the Sea side, who should farther make known his mind to him, that accordingly he had sent, and being now come, they were there met to hear what he had to say to them. Where we see, that though God sent an Angel to *Cornelius* to acquaint him with his will, yet the Angel was only to direct him to the Apostle for instruction in the Faith; which no doubt was done, partly that God might put the greater honour upon an institution, that was likely to meet with contempt and scorn enough from the World; partly to let us see, that we are not to expect extraordinary and miraculous ways of teaching and information, where God affords ordinary means.

* J. Mart. Apol. 2.
p. 69.
Iren. l. 1. c. 20.
p. 115.
Tertull. de prescript. Heret. c. 45.
p. 219.

4. HEREUPON *Peter* began this Discourse, that by comparing things it was now plain and evident, that the partition-wall was broken down; that God had no longer a particular kindness for Nations or Persons; that it was not the Nation, but the Religion; not the outward quality of the man, but the inward temper of the mind that recommends men to God; that the devout and the pious, the righteous and the good man, where-ever he be, is equally dear to Heaven; that God has as much respect for a just and a virtuous person in the Wilds of *Scythia*, as upon *Mount Zion*: that the reconciling and making peace between God and Man by *Jesus Christ*, was the Doctrine published by the Prophets of old, and of late, since the times of *John*, preached through *Galilee* and *Judea*, viz. that God had anointed and consecrated *Jesus* of *Nazareth* with Divine Powers and Graces, in the exercise whereof he constantly went about to doe good to men: that they had seen all he had done amongst the *Jews*, whom though they had slain and crucified, yet that God had raised him again the third day, and had openly shew'd him to his Apostles and followers, whom he had chosen to be his peculiar witnesses, and whom to that end he had admitted to eat and drink with him after his Resurrection, commanding them to preach the Gospel to Mankind, and to testify that he was the person whom God had ordained to be the great Judge of the World: that all the Prophets with one consent bore witness of him: that this *Jesus* is he, in whose Name whosoever believes, should certainly receive remission of sins. While *Peter* was thus preaching to them, the Holy Ghost fell upon a great part of his Auditory, enabling them to speak several Languages, and therein to magnifie the giver of them. Whereat the *Jews*, who came along with *Peter*, did sufficiently wonder, to see that the gifts of the Holy Ghost should be poured upon the *Gentiles*. *Peter* seeing this, told the company that he knew no reason why these persons should not be baptized, having received the Holy Ghost as well as they; and accordingly commanded them to be baptized. For whose farther confirmation he said some time longer with them. This act of *Peter's* made a great noise among the Apostles and Brethren at *Jerusalem*, who being lately converted from their Judaism, were as yet zealous for the Religion of their Countrey, and therefore severely charged *Peter* at his return for his too familiar conversing with the *Gentiles*. See here the powerfull prejudice of education. The *Jews* had for several Ages conceived a radicatted and inveterate prejudice against the *Gentiles*. Indeed the Law of *Moses* commanded them to be peculiarly kind to their own Nation; and the Rites and Institutions of their Religion, and the peculiar form of their Commonwealth made them different from the fashion of other Countries: a separation which in after-times they drew into a narrower compass. Besides, they were mightily puffed up with their external privileges, that they were the seed of *Abraham*, the People whom God had peculiarly chosen for himself, above all other Nations of the World, and therefore with a lofty scorn proudly rejected the *Gentiles* as *Dogs* and *Reprobates*, utterly refusing to shew them any office of common kindness and converse. We find the *Heathens* frequently charging them with this rudeness and inhumanity. * *Jehonai* accuses them, that they would not shew a Traveller the right way, nor give him a draught

* *Satyr.* p. 439.

|| *Stijf.* lib. 5. c. 64.
5. p. 535.
Ap. Joseph.
Antiq. Jud. l. vi.
c. 6.
Diod. Sicul.
lib. 34. apud
Plin. Cod. 244.
Col. 1149.

of Water, if he were not of their Religion. || *Tacitus* tells us, that they had *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*, a bitter hatred of all other People: * *Flaman* represented them to *Abasius*, as *ἔχοντες ἀμύκτωρ, ἀσύμμιχτοι*, &c. A people that would never kindly mix and correspond with any other, as different in their Manners as in their Laws and Religion from other Nations. The friends of *Antiochus* (as the || Historian reports) charged them *μὴνους ἀπάρτητοι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνομιαν*

ἀνομιαν ἢ) ὁ πρὸς ἄλλο ἐχόν. ὁτιμύκτες, καὶ πολέμιος ἑκατέρωθεν πάντας, μὴδὲν ἄλλοι ἔδωκεν ὁμογενέας κοινωνεῖν τὸ παρῆναι, μὴδὲ δύνανται. That they alone of all others were the most unsociable people under Heaven; that they held no converse or correspondence with any other, but accounted them as their mortal enemies; that they would not eat or drink with men of another Nation, no nor so much as wish well to them, their Ancestors having leavened them with an hatred of all mankind. This was their humour; and that the *Gentiles* herein did not wrong them, is sufficiently evident from their ordinary practice, and is openly avowed by their own * Writings. Nay, at their first coming over to Christianity, though one great design of it was, to soften the manners of men, and to oblige them to a more extensive and universal charity, yet could they hardly quit this common prejudice, quarrelling with *Peter* for no other reason, but that he had eaten and drunken with the *Gentiles*: inasmuch that he was forced to apologize for himself, and to justify his actions as immediately done by Divine warrant and authority. And then, no sooner had he given them a naked and impartial account of the whole transaction, from first to last, but they presently turned their displeasure against him into thanks to God, that had granted to the *Gentiles* also Repentance unto life.

* *Vid. Maimon.*
in *Ἰσῳῆ* cap. 12.
& in *Gregelab.*
cap. 11.

5. IT was now about the end of *Caligula's* Reign, when *Peter*, having finished his visitation of the new-planted Churches, was returned unto *Jerusalem*. Not long after *Herod Agrippa*, Grand-child to *Herod the great*, having attained the Kingdom, the better to ingratiate himself with the People, had lately put *S. James* to death. And finding that this gratified the Vulgar, resolved to send *Peter* the same way after him. In order whereunto he apprehended him, cast him into prison, and set strong guards to watch him: the Church in the mean time being very instant and importunate with Heaven for his life and safety. The Night before his intended execution, God purposely sent an Angel from Heaven, who coming to the prison, found him fast asleep between two of his Keepers. So soft and secure a Pillow is a good Conscience, even in the confines of Death, and the greatest danger. The Angel raised him up, knock'd off his Chains, bad him gird on his Garments, and follow him. He did so, and having passed the first and second Watch, and entred through the *Iron-gate* into the City (which opened to them of its own accord) after having passed through one street more, the Angel departed from him. By this time *Peter* came to himself, and perceived that it was no Vision, but a reality that had hapned to him. Whereupon he came to *Mary's* house, where the Church were met together at Prayer for him. Knocking at the Door, the Maid, who came to let him in, perceiving 'twas his voice, ran back to tell them that *Peter* was at the Door: Which they at first looked upon as nothing but the effect of fright or fancy; but she still affirming it, they concluded that it was his Angel, or some peculiar messenger sent from him. The Door being open, they were strangely amazed at the sight of him: but he briefly told them the manner of his deliverance, and charging them to acquaint the Brethren with it, presently withdrew into another place. 'Tis easie to imagine what a bustle and stir there was the next Morning among the Keepers of the Prison, with whom *Herod* was so much displeased, that he commanded them to be put to Death.

6. SOME time after this it hapned, that a controversy arising between the *Jews* and the *Gentile* Converts, about the observance of the *Mosaic* Law, the minds of men were exceedingly disquieted and disturbed with it; the *Jews* zealously contending for Circumcision, and the observance of the Ceremonial Law to be joyn'd with the belief and profession of the Gospel,

as equally necessary to Salvation. To compose this difference, the best expedient that could be thought on was, to call a general Council of the Apostles and Brethren to meet together at *Jerusalem*, which was done accordingly, and the case thoroughly scanned and canvassed. At last *Peter* stood up, and acquainted the Synod, that God having made choice of him among all the Apostles, to be the first that preached the Gospel to the *Gentiles*; God who was best able to judge of the hearts of men, had born witness to them, that they were accepted of him, by giving them his Holy Spirit as well as he had done to the *Jews*; having put no difference between the one and the other. That therefore it was a tempting and a provoking God, to put a *Yoke* upon the necks of the Disciples, which neither they themselves nor their Fathers were able to bear: there being ground enough to believe, that the *Gentiles* as well as the *Jews* should be saved by the grace of the Gospel. After some other of the Apostles had declared their judgments in the case, it was unanimously decreed, that except the temporary observance of some few particular things, equally convenient both for *Jew* and *Gentile*, no other burthen should be imposed upon them. And so the decrees of the Council being drawn up into a *Synodical Epistle*, were sent abroad to the several Churches, for allaying the heats and controversies that had been raised about this matter.

Gal. 2. 11.

7. *PETER* a while after the celebration of this Council, left *Jerusalem*, and came down to *Antioch*, where using the liberty which the Gospel had given him, he familiarly ate and conversed with the *Gentile* Converts, accounting them, now that the partition-wall was broken down, no longer *strangers and foreigners*, but fellow-Citizens with the *Saints*, and of the household of God: This he had been taught by the Vision of the sheet let down from Heaven; this had been lately decreed, and he himself had promoted and subscribed it in the Synod at *Jerusalem*: this he had before practised towards *Cornelius* and his Family, and justified the action to the satisfaction of his accusers; and this he had here freely and innocently done at *Antioch*, till some of the *Jewish* Brethren coming thither, for fear of offending and displeasing them, he withdrew his converse with the *Gentiles*, as if it had been unlawfull for him to hold Communion with *uncircumcised* persons, when yet he knew, and was fully satisfied, that our Lord had wholly removed all difference, and broken down the Wall of separation between *Jew* and *Gentile*. In which affair, as he himself acted against the light of his own mind and judgment, condemning what he had approved, and destroying what he had before built up, so hereby he confirmed the *Jewish* zealots in their inveterate error, cast infinite scruples into the minds of the *Gentiles*, filling their Consciences with fears and dissatisfactions, reviving the old feuds and prejudices between *Jew* and *Gentile*; by which means many others were enflamed, yea, the whole number of *Jewish* Converts followed his example, separating themselves from the company of the *Gentile* Christians. Yea, so far did it spread, that *Barnabas* himself was carried away with the stream and torrent of this unwarrantable practice. *S. Paul*, who was at this time come to *Antioch*, unto whom *Peter* gave the right hand of fellowship, acknowledging his Apostleship of the Circumcision, observing these evil and unevangelical actings, resolutely withstood *Peter* to the face, and publicly reprov'd him as a person worthy to be blamed for his gross prevarication in this matter; severely expostulating and reasoning with him, that he who was himself a *Jew*, and thereby under a more immediate obligation to the *Mosaic* Law, should cast off that *Yoke* himself, and yet endeavour to impose it upon the *Gentiles*, who were not in the least under any obligation to it.

A smart,

A smart, but an impartial charge; and indeed so remarkable was this carriage of *S. Paul* towards our Apostle, that though it set things right for the present, yet it made some noise abroad in the World. Yea, *Porphyry* himself, that acute and subtle enemy of Christianity, makes use of it as an argument against them both: charging the one with error and falshood, and the other with rudeness and incivility; and that the whole was but a compact of forgery and deceit, while the Princes of the Church did thus fall out among themselves. And so sensible were some of this in the first Ages of Christianity, that rather than such a dishonour and disgrace, as they accounted it, should be reflected upon *Peter*; they tell us of two several *Cephas*'s, one the Apostle, the other one of the *seventy Disciples*; and that it was the last of these that was guilty of this prevarication, and whom *S. Paul* so vigorously refuted and reproved at *Antioch*. But for this plausible and well-meant Evasion the Champions of the *Romish* Church conn them no great thanks at this day. Nay, *S. Hieron* long since fully confuted it in his Notes upon this place.

* Apud Hieron. Proem. in Ep. ad Gal. p. 159. Tom.

† Hieron. Com. in Gal. 2. p. 158.

SECT. IX.

Of S. Peter's Acts from the End of the Sacred Story till his Martyrdom.

Peter's story prosecuted out of Ecclesiastical Writers. His planting of a Church and an Episcopal See at Antioch; when said to be. His first Journey to Rome, and the happiness it brought to the Roman Empire. His preaching in other places, and return to Rome. His encounter with Simon Magus. The impostures of the Magician. His familiarity with the Emperours, and the great honours said to be done to him. His Statue and Inscription at Rome. Peter's victory over him by raising one from the Dead. Simon attempting to fly is by Peter's Prayers hindered, falls down, and dies. Nero's displeasure against Peter, whence. His being cast into Prison. His flight thence, and being brought back by Christ appearing to him. Crucified with his head downwards, and why. The place of his Martyrdom and Burial. The original and greatness of S. Peter's Church in Rome. His Episcopal Chair pretended to be still kept there.

1. **H**ITHERTO in drawing up the Life of this great Apostle, we have had an infallible Guide to conduct and lead us: But the sacred Story breaking off here, forces us to look abroad, and to pick up what *Memoires* the Ancients have left us in this matter: which we shall for the main digest according to the order, wherein *Baronius*, and other Ecclesiastick Writers have disposed the *series* of *S. Peter's* Life: Reserving what is justly questionable, to a more particular examination afterward. And that we may present the account more entire and perfect, we must step back a little in point of time, that so we may go forward with greater advantage. We are to know therefore, that during the time of peace and calmness which the Church enjoyed after *Saul's* Persecution, when *S. Peter* went down to visit the

the Churches, he is said to have gone to *Antioch*, where great Numbers of *Jews* inhabited, and there to have planted the Christian Faith. That he founded a Church here, * *Eusebius* expressly tells us, and by || others it is said, that he himself was the first Bishop of this *See*. Sure I am that * *S. Chrysostome* reckons it one of the greatest honours of that City, that *S. Peter* staid so long there, and that the Bishops of it succeeded him in that *See*. The care and precedence of the Church he had between Six and Seven Years. Not that he staid there all that time, but that having ordered and disposed things to the best advantage, he returned to other affairs and exigencies of the Church: confirming the new Plantations, bringing in *Cornelius* and his Family, and in him the first fruits of the *Gentiles* conversion to the faith of *Christ*. After which he returned unto *Jerusalem*, where he was imprisoned by *Herod*, and miraculously delivered by an Angel sent from Heaven.

2. WHAT became of *Peter* after his deliverance out of Prison is not certainly known: probably he might preach in some parts a little farther distant from *Judea*, as we are told * he did at *Byzantium*, and in the Countries thereabout (though, I confess, the evidence to me is not convincing.) After this he resolved upon a Journey to *Rome*; where most agree he arrived about the Second Year of the Emperour *Claudius*. || *Orosius* tells us, that coming to *Rome*, he brought prosperity along with him to that City: For besides several other extraordinary advantages which at that time hapned to it, this was not the least observable, that *Camillus Scribonianus*, Governour of *Dalmatia*, soliciting the Army to rebel against the Emperour, the *Eagles*, their Military Standard, remained so fast in the Ground, that no power nor strength was able to pluck them up. With which unusual accident the minds of the Souldiers were surprized and startled, and turning their Swords against the Author of the sedition, continued firm and loyal in their obedience. Whereby a dangerous Rebellion was prevented, likely enough otherwise to have broken out. This he ascribes to Saint *Peter's* coming to *Rome*, and the first Plantation of the *Christian* Faith in that City. Heaven beginning more particularly to smile upon that place at his first coming thither. * 'Tis not to be doubted, but that at his first arrival, he disposed himself amongst the *Jews* his Country-men, who, ever since the time of *Augustus*, had dwelt in the *Region* beyond *Tybur*. But when afterwards he began to preach to the *Gentiles*, he was forced to change his Lodging, and was taken in by one *Pudens*, a Senatour lately converted to the Faith. Here he closely plyed his main office and employment, to establish Christianity in that place. Here we are told * he met with *Philo the Jew*, lately come on his second Embassy unto *Rome*, in the behalf of his Country-men at *Alexandria*, and to have contracted an intimate friendship and acquaintance with him. And now it is says || *Baronius*, that *Peter* being mindfull of the Churches which he had founded in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia* and *Asia* the less, wrote his first *Epistle* to them, which he probably infers hence, that Saint *Mark* being yet with him at the time of the date of this *Epistle*, it must be written at least some time this Year, for that now it was that *S. Mark* was sent to preach and propagate the Faith in *Egypt*. Next to the planting Religion at *Rome*, he took care to propagate it in the *Western* parts. And to that end (if we may believe one * of those that pretend to be his Successors) he sent abroad Disciples into several Provinces. That so their sound might go into all the Earth, and their words into the ends of the World.

3. IT hapned that after *S. Peter* had been several Years at *Rome*, *Claudius* the Emperour taking advantage of some seditions and tumults raised by

* *Chron. ad Ann. Chr. 43.*
|| *Hieron. Comment. in 2. ad Galat. p. 168.*
T. 2.
* *Encom. S. Ig. var. Mart. p. 503.*
Tom. 1.

* *Bar. ad Ann. Chr. 44. Num. 12.*
|| *Epiph. Agap. ad Petr. Hierol. in V. Sym. lib. Non. Conc. Tom. 4. pag. 24.*
|| *Hist. lib. 7. c. 6.*
|| *Id. 250. & 169.*

* *Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 53.*
|| *Hieron. de script. Eccl. in Phil. p. 270.*
|| *Ad Ann. 45. Num. 16.*

* *Innoc. Ep. 1. ad Dec. Eug. Conc. Tom. 1. p. 751.*

by the *Jews*, by a publick *Edict* || banished them out of *Rome*. In the Number of whom *S. Peter* (they say) departed thence, and returned back to *Jerusalem*, where he was present at that great *Apostolical Synod*, of which before. After this we are left under great uncertainties, how he disposed of himself for many Years. Confident we may be, that he was not idle, but spent his time sometimes in preaching in the Eastern parts, sometimes in other parts of the World, as in * *Africa*, *Sicily*, *Italy*, and other places. And here it may not be amiss to infer a claim in behalf of our own Country: * *Eusebius* telling us (as || *Metaphrastes* reports it) that *Peter* was not onely in these *Western* parts, but particularly that he was a long time in *Britain*, where he converted many Nations to the Faith. But we had better be without the honour of Saint *Peter's* company, than build the story upon so sandy a foundation: *Metaphrastes* his Authority being of so little value in this case, that it is slighted by the more learned and moderate Writers of the Church of *Rome*. But where-ever it was that Saint *Peter* employed his time, towards the latter part of *Nero's* Reign, he returned to *Rome*; where he found the minds of the People strangely bewitched and hardened against the embracing of the *Christian* Religion by the subtilties and Magick arts of *Simon Magus*, whom (as we have before related) he had formerly baffled at *Samarita*. This *Simon* was born at * *Gittin*, a Village of *Samarita*, bred up in the Arts of Sorcery and Divination, and by the help of the Diabolical powers performed many strange feats of wonder and activity. Infomuch that People generally looked upon him as some great Deity come down from Heaven. But being discovered and confounded by *Peter* at *Samarita*, he left the East and fled to *Rome*. Where by Witchcraft and Sorceries he insinuated himself into the favour of the People, and at last became very acceptable to the Emperours themselves, infomuch that no honour and veneration was too great for him. || *Iustin Martyr* assures us, that he was honoured as a Deity, that a Statue was erected to him in the *Insula Tyberina*, between two Bridges, with this Inscription, *SIMONI DEO SANCTO*; To *Simon* the holy God: that the *Samaritans* generally, and very many of other Nations did own and worship him as the chief principal Deity. I know the credit of this Inscription is shrewdly shaken by some later Antiquaries, who tell us, that the good Father being a *Greek*, might easily mistake in a *Latin* Inscription, or be imposed upon by others; and that the true Inscription was *SIMONI SANGO DEO FIDIO*, &c. such an Inscription being in the last Age dug up in the *Tyberine Island*, and there preserved to this day. It is not impossible but this might be the foundation of the story. But sure I am, that it is not onely reported by the *Martyr*, who was himself a *Samaritan*, and lived but in the next Age, but by others almost of the same time (a) *Irenaeus*, (b) *Tertullian*, and by others (c) after them. It farther deserves to be considered, that *J. Martyr* was a person of great learning and gravity, inquisitive about matters of this nature, at this time at *Rome*, where he was capable fully to satisfy himself in the truth of things, that he presented this *Apology* to the Emperour and the Senate of *Rome*, to whom he would be carefull what he said, and who, as they knew whether it was true or no, so, if false, could not but ill resent to be so boldly imposed upon by so notorious a fable. But, be it as it will, he was highly in favour both with the People and their Emperours; especially *Nero*, who was the Great Patron of Magicians, * and all who maintained secret ways of commerce with the infernal powers. With him || *S. Peter* thought fit in the first place to encounter, and to undeceive the People, by discovering the impostures and delusions of that wretched man.

|| *Vid. Oros. lib. 7. c. 6. fol. 297.*

* *Vid. Innoc. E. Hist. ubi supra.*
|| *De Petr. & Paul. ad Rom. 29. Jun. Num. 23. vid. item N. 10. ibid.*

* *J. Mart. Apol. p. 59.*
|| *vid. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 349.*

|| *Ubi supra, p. 2.*

(a) *Iren. adv. Hæ. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 115.*
(b) *Tertull. Apol. c. 13. p. 14.*
(c) *Euseb. l. 2. c. 14. p. 51.*
|| *Aug. de Hæres. in Simon. Tom. 6. lib. 2. cap. 14. pag. 154.*

* *Vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 30. c. 2. p. 606.*
|| *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 14. pag. 51, 52.*

* Damasc. in
viri. Petr. Conc.
Tom. 1. Conf.
App. lib. 6. c. 8, 9.
p. 944. Arnob.
adv. Gent. lib. 2.
p. 28. Epiph.
Hæres. 21. p. 31.
Sulp. Sev. lib. 2.
p. 137. & alii.
|| Heges. de Es-
s. d. d. lib. 3.
c. 2. 253.

4. THAT he did so, is generally affirmed by the Ancient Fathers*, who tell us of some particular Instances, wherein he baffled and confounded him. But because the matter is more entirely drawn up by || *Hegesippus* the younger, an Authour contemporary with *S. Ambrose*, if not (which is most probable) *S. Ambrose* himself, we shall from him represent the summary of the story. There was at this time at *Rome* an eminent young Gentleman, and a Kinsman of the Emperour's, lately dead. The fame which *Peter* had for raising persons to life, persuaded his friends that he might be called. Others also prevailing that *Simon* the Magician might be sent for. *Simon*, glad of the occasion to magnifie himself before the People, propounded to *Peter*, that if he raised the Gentleman unto life, then *Peter*, who had so injuriously provoked the great power of God, (as he styled himself) should lose his life: But if *Peter* prevailed, he himself would submit to the same fate and sentence. *Peter* accepted the terms, and *Simon* began his Charms and Incantments; whereat the dead Gentleman seemed to move his hand. The People that stood by, presently cried out, that he was alive, and that he talked with *Simon*, and began to fall foul upon *Peter*, for daring to oppose himself against so great a power. The Apostle entreated their patience, told them, that all this was but a phantasm and appearance, that if *Simon* was but taken from the Bed-side, all this pageantry would quickly vanish. Who being accordingly removed, the Body remained without the least sign of motion. *Peter*, standing at a good distance from the Bed, silently made his address to Heaven, and then before them all commanded the young Gentleman in the Name of the Lord *Jesus* to arise: who immediately did so, spoke, walked and ate, and was by *Peter* restored to his Mother. The People who saw this suddenly changed their opinions, and fell upon the Magician with an intent to stone him. But *Peter* begged his life, and told them, that it would be a sufficient punishment to him, to live and see that, in despite of all his power and malice, the Kingdom of *Christ* should increase and flourish. The Magician was inwardly tormented with this defeat, and vex'd to see the triumph of the Apostle, and therefore mustering up all his powers, summoned the People, told them that he was offended at the *Galileans*, whose Protectour and Guardian he had been, and therefore set them a Day, when he promised that they should see him fly up into Heaven. At the time appointed he went up to the Mount of the Capitol, and throwing himself from the top of the Rock, began his flight. A sight which the People entertained with great wonder and veneration, affirming that this must be the power of God, and not of man. *Peter*, standing in the Croud, prayed to our Lord, that the People might be undeceived, and that the vanity of the Impostour might be discovered in such a way, that he himself might be sensible of it. Immediately the Wings which he had made himself began to fail him, and he fell to the ground, miserably bruised and wounded with the fall: Whence being carried into a neighbouring Village, he soon after died. This is the story, for the particular circumstances whereof, the Reader must rely upon the credit of my Authour, the thing in general being sufficiently acknowledged by most ancient Writers. This contest of *Peter*'s with *Simon Magus* is placed by *Eusebius* under the Reign of *Claudius*, but by the generality both of ancient and later Authours, it is referred to the Reign of *Nero*.

5. SUCH was the end of this miserable and unhappy Man. Which no sooner came to the ears of the Emperour, to whom by wicked artifices he had endeared himself, but it became an occasion of hastning *Peter*'s ruine. The Emperour proudly had been before displeased with *Peter*, not only upon the account

account of the general disagreement and inconformity of his Religion, but because he had so strictly pressed temperance and chastity, and reclaimed so many Women in *Rome* from a dissolute and vitious life, thereby crossing that wanton and lascivious temper, to which that Prince was so immoderate a slave and Vassal. And being now by his means robbed of his dear favourite and companion, he resolved upon revenge, commanded *Peter* (as also *S. Paul*, who was at this time at *Rome*) to be apprehended, and cast into the Mamertine Prison: * where they spent their time in the exercises of Religion, and especially in Preaching to the Prisoners, and those who resorted to them. And here we may suppose it was (if not a little before) that *Peter* wrote his second Epistle to the dispersed Jews, wherein he endeavours to confirm them in the belief and practice of Christianity, and to fortify them against those poisonous and pernicious principles and practices, which even then began to break in upon the Christian Church.

6. *NERO* returning from *Achaia*, and entering *Rome* with a great deal of pomp and triumph, resolved now the Apostles should fall as a Victim and Sacrifice to his cruelty and revenge. While the fatal stroke was daily expected, the Christians in *Rome* did by daily prayers and importunities sollicit || *S. Peter* to make an escape, and to reserve himself to the uses and services of the Church. This at first he rejected, as what would ill reflect upon his courage and constancy, and argue him to be afraid of those sufferings for *Christ*, to which he himself had so often persuaded others; but the prayers and tears of the People overcame him, and made him yield. Accordingly the next night having prayed with, and taken his farewell of the Brethren, he got over the Prison-wall, and coming to the City-gate, he is there said to have met with our Lord, who was just entering into the City. *Peter* asked him, Lord, whither art thou going? from whom he presently received this answer, I am come to *Rome*, to be crucified a second time. By which answer, *Peter* apprehended himself to be reproved, and that our Lord meant it of his death, that he was to be crucified in his Servant. Whereupon he went back to the Prison, and delivered himself into the hands of his Keepers, shewing himself most ready and cheerful to acquiesce in the will of God. And we are told, * that in the stone whereon our Lord stood while he talked with *Peter*, he left the impression of his Feet, which stone has been ever since preserved as a very sacred Relique, and after several translations was at length fixed in the Church of *S. Sebastian* the Martyr, where it is kept and visited with great expressions of reverence and devotion at this day. Before his suffering he was no question scourged, according to the manner of the Romans, who were wont first to whip those Malefactors, who were adjudged to the most severe and capital punishments: Having saluted his Brethren, and especially having taken his last farewell of *S. Paul*, he was brought out of the Prison, and led to the top of the Vatican Mount, near to *Tybur*, the place designed for his Execution. The death he was adjudged to was crucifixion, as of all others accounted the most shamefull, so the most severe and terrible. But he intreated the favour of the Officers, that he might not be crucified in the ordinary way, || but might suffer with his Head downwards, and his Feet up to Heaven, affirming that he was unworthy to suffer in the same posture wherein his Lord had suffered before him. Happy man (as * *Chrysostome* glosses) to be set in the readiest posture of travelling from Earth to Heaven. His Body

K

being

vid. Ambr. O-
rat. in Ausent.
Ep. lib. 5. p. 125.
Tom. 3.

* Vid. Martyr.
Rom. ad dem
14 Mart. p. 165.

|| Vid. Ambr. ut
supra & Heges.
ib. p. 279.

* Rom. Subterr.
lib. 3. c. 21. N. 15.
Tom. 1. p. 292.

|| Orig. lib. 3. in Genes. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl.
lib. 3. c. 1. p. 71. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Petr.
p. 252. Heges. p. 279.
Prima Petrum rapuit sententia legibus Neronis,
Pendere vulgum praesentem ligas.
Ille tamen veritus celsa decus emulando moris
Ambire tanti gloriam Magistri:
Exigit at pedibus merisum caput impingunt fustibus,
Quo spectet inani flupitem crebro.
Figitur ergo manus subter, sola vestigia in cacumen,
Hoc mente major, quo minor figura.
Novat ex humili cadum citius solere adiri,
Deiecit ora, spiritum daturus.
Prudent. Peristeph. Hym. XI. in Pass. Pet. & Paul.
* Serm. in Petr. & Paul. p. 267. T. 6.

¶ Vid. Onuphr.
de VII. Urb.
Easil. c. 4. p. 45.
Cyc.

being taken from the Cross, is said to have been embalmed by *Marcellinus* the *Presbyter* after the *Jewish* manner, and was then buried in the *Vatican*, near the *Triumphal* way. Over his Grave a small || Church was soon after erected, which being destroyed by *Heliogabalus*, his Body was removed to the Cemetery in the *Appian* way, two Miles from *Rome*; where it remained till the time of Pope *Cornelius*, who re-conveyed it to the *Vatican*, where it rested somewhat obscurely untill the Reign of *Constantine*, who out of the mighty reverence which he had for the Christian Religion, caused many Churches to be built at *Rome*, but especially rebuilt and enlarged the *Vatican* to the honour of *S. Peter*. In the doing whereof Himself is said to have been the first that began to dig the Foundation, and to have carried thence twelve Baskets of Rubbish with his own hands, in honour, as it should seem, of the twelve Apostles. He infinitely enriched the Church with Gifts and Ornaments, which in every Age encreased in Splendour and Riches, till it is become one of the wonders of the World at this day. Of whose glories, stateliness and beauty, and those many venerable Monuments of antiquity that are in it, they who desire to know more, may be plentifully satisfied by *Onuphrius*. Onely one amongst the rest must not be forgotten: there being kept that very wooden Chair wherein *S. Peter* sat when he was at *Rome*, by the onely touching whereof many Miracles are said to be performed. But surely * *Baronius* his wisdom and gravity were from home, when speaking of this Chair, and fearing that Hereticks would imagine that it might be rotten in so long a time, he tells us, that it is no wonder that this Chair should be preserved so long, when *Eusebius* affirms, that the wooden Chair of *S. James*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was extant in the time of *Constantine*. But the Cardinal it seems forgot to consider, that there is some difference between three and sixteen hundred Years. But of this enough. *S. Peter* was crucified according to the common computation in the Year of Christ sixty nine, and the thirteenth (or, as *Eusebius*, the fourteenth) of *Nero*, how truly may be enquired afterwards.

Loc. suprà loc.
dat.

* Ad An. 45.
n. 11.

SECT.

SECT. X.

The Character of his Person and Temper; and an Account of his Writings.

The description of *S. Peter's* Person. An account of his Temper. A natural fervour and eagerness predominant in him. Fierceness and animosity peculiarly remarkable in the Galileans. The abatements of his zeal and courage. His humility and lowliness of mind. His great love to, and zeal for Christ. His constancy and resolution in confessing of Christ. His faithfulness and diligence in his Office. His Writings genuine and supposititious. His first Epistle; what the design of it. What meant by Babylon, whence it was dated. His second Epistle a long time questioned, and why. Difference in the style, no considerable objection. Grotius his conceit of its being written by Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, exploded. A concurrence of circumstances to entitle *S. Peter* to it. Some things in it referred to, which he had preached at Rome, particularly the destruction of Jerusalem, written but a little before his death. The spurious Writings attributed to him, mentioned by the Ancients. His AGs. Gospel. Petri Prædicatio. His Apocalypse. Judicium Petri. Peter's married relation. His Wife the companion of his Travels. Her Martyrdom. His Daughter Petronilla.

I. HAVING run through the current History of *S. Peter's* Life, it may not be amiss in the next place to survey a little his Person and Temper. His Body (if we may believe the description given of him by * *Nicephorus*) was somewhat slender, of a middle size, but rather inclining to tallness; his Complexion very pale, and almost white: The Hair of his Head and Beard curl'd and thick, but withal short; though || *S. Hierome* tells us out of *Clemens* his Periods, that he was Bald, which probably might be in his declining age; his Eyes black, but speckt with red, which * *Baronius* will have to proceed from his frequent weeping; his Eye-brows thin, or none at all; his Nose long, but rather broad and flat than sharp; such was the Case and out-side. Let us next look inwards, and view the Jewel that was within. Take him as a *Man*, and there seems to have been a natural eagerness predominant in his Temper, which as a Whet-stone sharpened his Soul for all bold and generous undertakings. It was this in a great measure that made him so forward to speak, and to return answers, sometimes before he had well considered them. It was this made him expose his person to the most eminent dangers, promise those great things in behalf of his Master, and resolutely draw his Sword in his quarrel against a whole Band of Soldiers, and wound the High-priest's Servant; and possibly he had attempted greater matters, had not our Lord restrained, and taken him off by that seasonable check that he gave him.

2. THIS Temper he owed in a great measure to the Genius and nature of his Country, of which * *Iosephus* gives this true character; That it naturally bred in men a certain fierceness and animosity, whereby they were fear-

ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτῶν πολὺν αἰσῶνα ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτανῶν. De Bell. Jud. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 833.

lefly carried out upon any action, and in all things shew'd a great strength and courage both of mind and body. The *Galileans* (says he) being fighters from their childhood, the men being as seldom overtaken with cowardize, as their Country with want of men. And yet, notwithstanding this, his fervour and fierceness had its intervals; there being some times when the *Paroxysms* of his heat and courage did intermit, and the man was surpris'd and betrayed by his own fears. Witness his passionate crying out, when he was upon the Sea in danger of his life, and his fearfull deserting his Master in the Garden; but especially his carriage in the High-priest's Hall, when the confident charge of a sorry Maid made him sink so far beneath himself, and, notwithstanding his great and resolute promises, so shamefully deny his Master, and that with curses and imprecations. But he was in danger, and passion prevailed over his understanding, and fear betrayed the succours which reason offered; and, being intent upon nothing, but the present safety of his life, he heeded not what he did, when he disown'd his Master, to save himself; so dangerous is it to be left to our selves, and to have our natural passions let loose upon us.

3. CONSIDER him as a *Disciple* and a Christian, and we shall find him exemplary in the great instances of Religion. Singular his *Humility*, and lowliness of mind. With what a passionate earnestness upon the conviction of a Miracle, did he beg of our Saviour to depart from him: accounting himself not worthy, that the Son of God should come near so vile a sinner. When our Lord by that wonderfull condescension stoop to walt with the Apostles feet, he could by no means be persuaded to admit it, not thinking it fit, that so great a Person should submit himself to so servile an office towards so mean a person as himself; nor could he be induced to accept it, till our Lord was in a manner forced to threaten him into obedience. When *Cornelius* heightened in his apprehensions of him by an immediate command from God concerning him, would have entertained him with expressions of more than ordinary honour and veneration; so far was he from complying with it, that he plainly told him, he was no other than such a man as himself. With how much candour and modesty does he treat the inferior Rulers and Ministers of the Church? He, upon whom Antiquity heaps so many honourable titles, styling himself no other than their *fellows-Presbyter*. Admirable his love to, and zeal for his Master, which he thought he could never express at too high a rate: for his sake venturing on the greatest dangers, and exposing himself to the most imminent hazards of life. 'Twas in his quarrel that he drew his Sword against a Band of Souldiers, and an armed multitude; and 'twas love to his Master drew him into that imprudent advice, that he should seek to save himself, and avoid those sufferings that were coming upon him, that made him promise and engage so deep, to suffer and die with him. Great was his forwardness in owning *Christ* to be the *Messiah* and Son of God; which drew from our Lord that honourable *Encomium*, *Blessed art thou Simon Bar Jonah*. But greater his courage and constancy in confessing *Christ* before his most inveterate enemies, especially after he had recovered himself of his fall. With how much plainness did he tell the *Jews* at every turn to their very faces, that they were the Murderers and Crucifiers of the Lord of Glory? Nay, with what an undaunted courage, with what an Heroick greatness of mind did he tell that very *Sanhedrim*, that had sentenced and condemned him, that they were guilty of his Murder, and that they could never be saved any other way, than by this very *Jesus*, whom they had crucified and put to death:

4. LAST-

4. LASTLY, let us reflect upon him as an *Apostle*, as a Pastour and Guide of Souls. And so we find him faithfull and diligent in his office, with an infinite zeal endeavouring to instruct the ignorant, reduce the erroneous, to strengthen the weak, and confirm the strong, to reclaim the vicious, and turn *Souls to righteousness*. We find him taking all opportunities of preaching to the people, converting many thousands at once. How many voiaes and travels did he undergo? with how unconquerable a patience did he endure all conflicts and trials, and surmount all difficulties and oppositions, that he might plant and propagate the Christian Faith? Nor thinking much to lay down his own life, to promote and further it. Nor did he onely doe his duty himself, but as one of the prime Superintendents of the Church, and as one that was sensible of the value and the worth of Souls, he was careful to put others in mind of theirs, earnestly pressing and persuading the Pastours and Governours of it, *To feed the flock of God, To take upon them the Rule and Inspection of it freely and willingly*, not out of a sinister end, merely of gaining advantages to themselves, but out of a sincere design of doing good to Souls; that they would treat them mildly and gently, and be themselves examples of Piety and Religion to them, as the best way to make their Ministry successfull and effectual. And because he could not be always present to teach and warn men, he ceased not by Letters *to stir up their minds to the remembrance and practice of what they had been taught*. A course, he tells them, which he was resolv'd to hold as long as he liv'd, as *thinking it meet while he was in this tabernacle, to stir them up, by putting them in mind of these things; that so they might be able after his decease, to have them always in remembrance*. And this may lead us to the consideration of those *Writings* which he left behind him for the benefit of the Church.

5. NOW the Writings that entitle themselves to this Apostle, were either genuine, or supposititious. The genuine Writings are his two *Epistles*, which make up part of the Sacred Canon. For the first of them, no certain account can be had when it was written. Though *Baronius* and most Writers commonly assign it to the year of *Christ Forty Four*. But this cannot be, *Peter* not being at *Rome*, (from whence it is supposed to have been written) at that time, as we shall see anon. He wrote it to the *Jewish* Converts, dispersed through *Pontus, Galatia*, and the Countries thereabouts, chiefly upon the occasion of that persecution, which had been raised at *Jerusalem*. And accordingly the main design of it is, to confirm and comfort them under their present sufferings and persecutions, and to direct and instruct them how to carry themselves in the several states and relations, both of the Civil and the Christian life. For the place whence it was written, 'tis expressly dated from *Babylon*. But what, or where this *Babylon* is, is not so easie to determine. Some think it was *Babylon in Egypt*, and probably *Alexandria*; and that there *Peter* preached the Gospel. Others will have it to have been *Babylon* the Ancient Metropolis of *Assyria*, and where great numbers of *Jews* dwelt ever since the times of their Captivities. But we need not send *Peter* on so long an Errand, if we embrace the Notion of a Learned * man, who by *Babylon* will figuratively understand *Jerusalem*, no longer now the holy City, but a kind of spiritual *Babylon*, in which the Church of God did at this time groan under great servitude and captivity. And this Notion of the Word he endeavours to make good, by calling in to his assistance two of the Ancient † Fathers, who so understand that of the Prophet, *We have healed Babylon, but she was not healed*. Where the Prophet (say they) by *Babylon* means *Jerusalem*, as differing nothing from the wickedness of the Nations, nor conforming it self to the Law of

God.

1 Pet. 5. 3, 4.

2 Pet. 1. 12, 13.

15.

* L. Capell. Append. ad Hist. App. pag. 42.

† Cyril. Alex. & Procop. Gaz. in Eia. 53.

Chap. 18. v. 2,
19, 21.

God. But generally the Writers of the *Remish* Church, and the more moderate of the *Reformed* party, acquiescing herein in the Judgment of Antiquity, by *Babylon* understand *Rome*. And so 'tis plain *S. John* calls it in his *Revelation*, either from its conformity in power and greatness to that ancient City, or from that great *Idolatry* which at this time reign'd in *Rome*. And so we may suppose *S. Peter* to have written it from *Rome*, not long after his coming thither, though the precise time be not exactly known.

6. AS for the *Second Epistle*, it was not accounted of old of equal value and authority with the *First*, and therefore for some Ages not taken into the Sacred Canon, as is expressly affirmed by * *Eusebius*, and many of the Ancients before him. The Ancient *Syriack* Church did not receive it, and accordingly it is not to be found in their ancient || Copies of the *New Testament*. Yea, those of that Church at this day do not own it as Canonical, but only read it privately, as we do the *Apocryphal* Books. The greatest * exception that I can find against it, was the difference of its *style* from the other *Epistle*; and therefore it was presumed, that they were not both written by the same hand. But *S. Hierome*, who tells us the objection, does || elsewhere himself return the answer, That the difference in the style and manner of writing might very well arise from hence, that *S. Peter*, according to his different circumstances, and the necessity of affairs, was forced to use several *Ammanes* and Interpreters; sometimes *S. Mark*, and after his departure some other person, which might justly occasion a difference in the style and character of these *Epistles*. Not to say, that the same person may vastly alter and vary his style according to the times when, or the persons to whom, or the subjects about which he writes, or the temper and disposition he is in at the time of writing, or the care that is used in doing it. Who sees not the vast difference of *Jeremie's* writing in his *Prophecy*, and in his *Book of Lamentations*? between *S. John's* in his *Gospel*, his *Epistles* and *Apocalypse*? How oft does *S. Paul* alter his style in several of his *Epistles*, in some more lofty and elegant, in others more rough and harsh? Besides hundreds of instances that might be given both in Ecclesiastical and Foreign Writers, too obvious to need insisting on in this place. The Learned * *Grotius* will have this *Epistle* to have been written by *Symeon*, and *S. James* his immediate Successor in the Bishoprick of *Jerusalem*, and that the word [*Peter*] was inserted into the Title by another hand. But as a Judicious † person of our own observes, these were but his Posthumous Annotations, published by others, and no doubt never intended as the deliberate result of that great man's Judgment: especially since he himself tacitly acknowledges, that all Copies extant at this day read the Title and Inscription as it is in our Books. And indeed there is a concurrence of circumstances to prove *S. Peter* to be the Author of it. It bears his name in the Front and Title, yea, somewhat more expressly than the former, which has only *one*, this, *both* his Names. There's a passage in it that cannot well relate to any but him. When he tells us, that

he was present with *Christ* in the holy Mount; When he received from God the Father honour and glory; Where he heard the voice which came from Heaven, from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. This evidently refers to *Christ's* Transfiguration, where none were present, but *Peter* and the two Sons of *Zebedee*, neither of which were ever thought of to be the Author of this *Epistle*. Besides, that there is an admirable consent and agreement in many passages between these two *Epistles*, as it were easie to shew in particular instances. Add to this, that *S. Jude*, speaking of the *Scorners* who should come in the last time, walking after their own ungodly lusts, cites this as that which had been before spoken by the *Apostles* of our Lord *Jesus*

Jesus Christ: wherein he plainly quotes the words of this Second *Epistle* of *Peter*, affirming, That there should come in the last days scorners, walking after their own lusts. And that this does agree to *Peter*, will farther appear by this, that he tells us of these *Scorners*, that should come in the last days, that is, before the destruction of *Jerusalem* (as that phrase is often used in the New Testament) that they should say, Where is the promise of his coming? Which clearly respects their making light of those Threatnings of our Lord, whereby he had foretold, that he would shortly come in Judgment for the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the *Jewish* Nation. This he now puts them in mind of, as what probably he had before told them of *Viru voce*, when he was amongst them. For so we find he did elsewhere. *Lactantius* Lib. 4. cap. 21. assuring us, "That amongst many strange and wonderful things which *Peter* " and *Paul* preached at *Rome*, and left upon Record, this was one, That " within a short time God would send a Prince, who should destroy the Jews, " and lay their Cities level with the ground, straitly besiege them, destroy " them with Famine, so that they should feed upon one another: That their " Wives and Daughters should be ravished, and their Childrens brains dash'd " out before their faces: that all things should be laid waste by Fire and " Sword, and themselves perpetually banished from their own Country; " and this for their insolent and merciless usage of the innocent and dear Son " of God. All which, as he observes, came to pass soon after their death, when *Vespasian* came upon the Jews, and extinguish'd both their Name and Nation. And what *Peter* here foretold at *Rome*, we need not question but he had done before to those Jews, to whom he wrote this *Epistle*. Wherein he especially antedotes them against those corrupt and poisonous principles, wherewith many, and especially the followers of *Simon Magus*, began to infect the Church of *Christ*. And this but a little time before his death, as appears from that passage in it, where he tells them, That he knew he must shortly put off his earthly Tabernacle.

7. BESIDES these Divine *Epistles*, there were other *supposititious* writings which in the first Ages were fathered upon *S. Peter*. Such was the Book called his *Acts* mentioned by * *Origen*, || *Eusebius* and others, but rejected by them. Such was his *Gospel*, which probably at first was nothing else but the *Gospel* written by *S. Mark*, dictated to him (as is generally thought) by *S. Peter*: and therefore, as * *S. Hierome* tells us, said to be his. Though in the next Age there appeared a Book under that Title, mentioned by || *Serapion*, Bishop of *Antioch*, and by him at first supposed to be read in the Church; but afterwards, upon a more careful perusal of it, he rejected it as *Apocryphal*, as it was by others after him. Another was the Book styled *His Preaching*, mentioned and quoted both by * *Clement Alexandrinus* and by || *Origen*, but not acknowledged by them to be Genuine: Nay, expressly said to have been forged by *Hereticks*, by an ancient (a) Author contemporary with *S. Cyprian*. The next was his *Apocalypse*, or *Revelation*, rejected, as (b) *Sozomen* tells us by the Ancients as Spurious, but yet read in some Churches in *Palestine* in his time. The last was the Book called *His Judgment*, which probably was the same with that called * *Hermes*, or *Pastour*, a Book of good use and esteem in the first times of Christianity, and which, as || *Eusebius* tells us, was not only frequently cited by the Ancients, but also publicly read in Churches.

8. WE shall conclude this Section by considering *Peter* with respect to his several Relations: That he was married, is unquestionable, the Sacred History mentioning his *Wifes Mother*: his Wife (might we believe

* Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 2. p. 72. Orig. apud Niceph. l. 5. c. 16. p. 35. v. || Vid. Edit. Bock. Prefat. ad Epist. Syr. 2. se edit. * Hier. de script. Eccl. in Petr. || Augst. 11. ad Hebr. Tom. 3. p. 151.

* Annot. in 2 Pet. c. 1. † Dr. Ham. in Argum. Epist.

2 Pet. 1. 16, 17, 18.

Jud. v. 17, 18.

* Orig. Tom. 20. in Joan. c. 1. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 72. || In Petro, at supra.

Apud Euseb. lib. 6. c. 12. p. 213.

* Syron. lib. 6. p. 635. || in Excerpt. Græc. ex Hieronym. p. 809. || Orig. Tom. 13. in Joan. (a) De Heret. lib. 2. c. 19. p. 735. || Vid. Ruffin. Exposit. Symbol. Inter Oper. Hier. Tom. 4. p. 113. || Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 72.

* Comment. de
S. Peter. apud
Syr. ad item
29 Jan. n. 2.
|| Ep. ad Julian.
Tom. 1. p. 207.

1 Cor. 9. 5.
Vid. Clem. Re-
cognit. lib. 7.
fol. 76. pag. 2.
* Strom. lib. 7.
p. 736.

* Bar. ad An.
60. n. 52.
|| Ubi supra.
* Strom. lib. 3.
p. 448.

lieve * *Metaphrastes*) being the Daughter of *Aristobolus*, Brother to *Barnabas* the Apostle. And though || *S. Hierome* would persuade us, that he left her behind him, together with his Nets, when he forsook all to follow *Christ*; yet we know that Father too well, to be over-confident upon his word in a case of Marriage or Single life, wherein he is not over-scrupulous sometimes to strain a point, to make his opinion more fair and plausible. The best is, we have an infallible Authority which plainly intimates the contrary, the testimony of *S. Paul*, who tells us of *Cephas*, that he led about a Wife, a Sister, along with him, who for the most part mutually cohabited and lived together, for ought that can be proved to the contrary. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* gives us this account, though he tells us not the time or place, That *Peter*, seeing his Wife going towards Martyrdom, exceedingly rejoiced that she was called to so great an honour, and that she was now returning home, encouraging and earnestly exhorting her, and calling her by her Name, *bad her to be mindfull of our Lord*. Such (*says he*) was the Weakness of that blessed couple, and the perfect disposition and agreement in those things that were dearest to them. By her he is said to have had a * Daughter called *Petronilla* (|| *Metaphrastes* adds a Son) how truly I know not. This onely is certain, that * *Clemens of Alexandria* reckons *Peter* for one of the Apostles that was married and had Children. And surely he who was so good a man, and so good an Apostle, was as good in the relation both of a Husband and a Father.

S E C T. XI.

An Enquiry into S. Peter's going to Rome.

Peter's being at Rome granted in general. The account of it given by Baronius and the Writers of that Church rejected and disproved. No foundation for it in the History of the Apostolick Acts. No mention of it in S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. No news of his being there at S. Paul's coming to Rome, nor intimation of any such thing in the several Epistles which S. Paul wrote from thence. S. Peter's first being at Rome inconsistent with the time of the Apostolick Synod at Jerusalem. And with an ancient Tradition, that the Apostles were commanded to stay Twelve years in Judæa after Christ's death. A passage out of Clemens Alexandrinus noted and corrected to that purpose. Difference among the Writers of the Romish Church in their Accounts. Peter's being XXV years Bishop of Rome, no solid foundation for it in Antiquity. The Planting and Governing that Church equally attributed to Peter and Paul. S. Peter when (probably) came to Rome. Different dates of his Martyrdom assigned by the Ancients. A probable account given of it.

1. IT is not my purpose to swim against the Stream and Current of Antiquity, in denying Saint *Peter* to have been at *Rome*; an Assertion easier perplexed and entangled, than confuted and disproved; we may grant the main, without doing any great service to that Church, there being evidence enough to every impartial and considering man, to spoil that smooth and plausible Scheme of Times, which *Baronius* and the Writers of that

that Church hath drawn with so much care and diligence. And in order to this we shall first enquire, whether that account which *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* give us of *Peter's* being at *Rome* be tolerably reconcilable with the History of the Apostles Acts recorded by *S. Luke*, which will be best done by briefly presenting *S. Peter's* Acts in their just Series and order of Time, and then see what countenance and foundation their Account can receive from hence.

2. A F T E R our Lord's Ascension, we find *Peter*, for the first year at least, staying with the rest of the Apostles at *Jerusalem*. In the next year he was sent, together with *S. John*, by the command of the Apostles, to *Samarria*, to preach the Gospel to that City, and the parts about it. About three years after *S. Paul* meets him at *Jerusalem*, with whom he staid some time. In the two following years he visited the late planted Churches, preached at *Lydda* and *Toppa*, where having tarried many days, he thence removed to *Cesarea*, where he preached to, and baptized *Cornelius* and his Family. Whence after some time he returned to *Jerusalem*, where he probably staid, till cast into prison by *Herod*, and delivered by the Angel. After which we hear no more of him, till three or four years after we find him in the Council at *Jerusalem*. After which he had the contest with *S. Paul* at *Antioch*. And thence-forward the Sacred Story is altogether silent in this matter. So that in all this time, we find not the least footstep of any intimation that he went to *Rome*. This * *Baronius* well foresaw, and therefore once and again * infers this caution, that *S. Luke* did not design to record all the Apostles Acts, and that he has omitted many things which were done by *Peter*. Which surely no man ever intended to deny. But then that he should omit a matter of such vast moment and importance to the whole Christian World, that not one syllable should be said of a Church planted by *Peter* at *Rome*; a Church that was to be Paramount, the seat of all Spiritual Power and Infallibility, and to which all other Churches were to veil and doe homage; nay, that he should not so much as mention that ever he was there, and yet all this said to be done within the time he designed to write of, is by no means reasonable to suppose. Especially considering, that *S. Luke* records many of his journeys and travels, and his preaching at several places, of far less consequence and concernment. Nor let this be thought the worse of, because a negative Argument, since it carries so much rational evidence along with it, that any man who is not plainly byassed by Interest, will be satisfied with it.

3. B U T let us proceed a little farther to enquire, whether we can meet any probable footsteps afterwards. About the year Fifty three, towards the end of *Claudius* his Reign *S. Paul* is thought to have writ his Epistle to the Church of *Rome*, wherein he spends the greatest part of one Chapter in saluting particular persons that were there; amongst whom it might reasonably have been expected, that *S. Peter* should have had the first place. And supposing with * *Baronius*, that *Peter* at this time might be absent * from the City, preaching the Gospel in some parts in the West, yet we are not sure that *S. Paul* knew of this, and if he did, it is strange that in so large an Epistle, wherein he had occasion enough, there should be neither direct nor indirect mention of him, or of any Church there founded by him. Nay, *S. Paul* himself intimates, what an earnest desire he had to come thither, that he might impart unto them some spiritual gifts, to the end they might be established in the Faith, for which there could have been no such apparent cause had *Peter* been there so lately, and so long before him. Well, *S. Paul* himself not many years after is sent to *Rome*, *Ann. Chr. LVI*, or as

* Ad An. 30.
num. 12. ad
An. 34. n. 285.

* Ad An. 58.
yet we are * 51.

Rom. 1. 10, 11,

dition mentioned by *Apollonius*. Besides, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* tells us that *Peter* came not to *Rome* till the Seventh Year of *Claudius*, Anno Christi XLIX. So little certainty can there be of any matter, wherein there is no truth. Nay, the same excellent Man * before-mentioned does not stick elsewhere to profess, he wonders at *Baronius*, that he should make *Peter* come from *Rome*, banished there by *Claudius* his Edict, to the *Synod* at *Jerusalem*, the same Year, viz. Anno Claudii IX. a thing absolutely inconsistent with that Story of the *Apostles Acts*, recorded by *S. Luke*, wherein there is the space of no less than Three Years from the time of that *Synod*, to the Decree of *Claudius*. It being evident, what he observes, that after the celebration of that Council, *S. Paul* went back to *Antioch*, afterwards into *Syria* and *Cilicia* to preach the Gospel; thence into *Phrygia*, *Galatia* and *Mysia*; from whence he went into *Macedonia*, and first Preached at *Philippi*, then at *Thessalonica* and *Beræa*, afterwards stay'd some considerable time at *Athens*, and last of all went to *Corinth*, where he met with *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, lately come from *Italy*, banished *Rome* with the rest of the *Jews*, by the Decree of *Claudius*: all which by an easy and reasonable computation can take up no less than Three Years at least.

6. THAT which caus'd *Baronius* to split upon so many Rocks, was not so much want of seeing them, which a Man of his parts and industry could not but in a great measure see, as the unhappy necessity of defending those unfound principles which he had undertaken to maintain. For being to make good *Peter's* five and twenty years presidency over the Church of *Rome*, he was forced to confound times, and dislocate Stories, that he might bring all his ends together. What foundation this story of *Peter's* being five and twenty years Bishop of *Rome*, has in Antiquity, I find not, unless it sprang from hence, that *Eusebius* places *Peter's* coming to *Rome* in the Second Year of *Claudius*, and his Martyrdom in the Fourteenth of *Nero*, between which there is the just space of five and twenty years. Whence those that came after concluded, that he sat Bishop there all that time. It cannot be denied, but that in *S. Hierom's* Translation it is expressly said, that he continued five and twenty years Bishop of that City. But then it is as evident, that this was his own addition, who probably set things down as the report went in his time, no

such thing being to be found in the Greek Copy of * *Eusebius*. Nor indeed does he ever there or elsewhere positively affirm *S. Peter* to have been Bishop of *Rome*, but only that he preached the Gospel there. And expressly || affirms, that he and *S. Paul* being dead, *Linus* was the first Bishop of *Rome*. To which I may add, that when the Ancients speak of the Bishops of *Rome*, and the first Originals of that Church, they equally attribute the founding, and the Episcopacy and Government of it to *Peter* and *Paul*, making the one as much concerned in it as the other. Thus * *Epiphanius* reckoning up the Bishops of that See, places *Peter* and *Paul* in the front, as the first Bishops of *Rome*, & Πῶμος δὲ γὰρ ἦσαν πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ ἀποστόλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑταῶνται, *Peter* and *Paul* Apostles became the first Bishops of *Rome*, then *Linus*, &c. And again a little after, ἡ δὲ Πῶμος ἐπὶ τοῦτον διαδοχὴ τῶντων ἔχει τὴν ἀκολουσίαν, the succession of the Bishops of *Rome* was in this manner, *Peter* and *Paul*, *Linus*, *Cletus*, &c. And || *Hegesippus* speaking of their coming to *Rome*, equally says of them, that they were Doctores Christianorum, sublimis operibus, clari magisterio, the Instructors of the Christians, admirable for miracles, and renowned for their authority. However granting not only that he was there, but that he was Bishop, and that for five and twenty years together, yet what would this make for the unlimited Sovereignty and Universality of that Church, unless a better evidence than *Feed my sheep* could

* Πῶμος δὲ γὰρ ἦσαν πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ ἀποστόλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑταῶνται. *Epiphanius* lib. 1. c. 2. p. 71. *Contra Carpocrat.* Harc. XXVII. p. 51.

|| De excid. Jud. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 292.

be produced for its uncontrollable Supremacy and Dominion over the whole Christian World?

7. THE sum is this, granting what none that has any reverence for Antiquity will deny, that *S. Peter* was at *Rome*, he probably came thither some few Years before his death, joined with and assisted *S. Paul* in preaching of the Gospel, and then both sealed the Testimony of it with their Blood. The date of his Death is differently assigned by the Ancients. * *Eusebius* places it Anno LXIX, in the Fourteenth of *Nero*, || *Epiphanius* in the Twelfth. That which seems to me most probable is, that it was in the Tenth, or the Year LXV, which I thus compute: *Nero's* burning of *Rome* is placed by * *Tacitus*, under the Consulship of *C. Lecanius*, and *M. Licinius*, about the Month of July, that is, Ann. Ch. LXIV. This act procured him the infinite hatred and clamours of the People, which having in vain endeavoured several ways to remove and pacify, he at last resolved upon this project, to derive the Odium upon the Christians, whom therefore both to appease the Gods, and please the People, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and caused to be executed with all manner of acute and exquisite Tortures. This Perfection we may suppose began about the end of that, or the beginning of the following Year. And under this Perfection, I doubt not, it was that *S. Peter* suffered, and changed Earth for Heaven.

* Chron. p. 162. Anno LXIX, in the Fourteenth of Nero, || Epiphanius in the Twelfth. That which seems to me most probable is, that it was in the Tenth, or the Year LXV, which I thus compute: Nero's burning of Rome is placed by Tacitus, under the Consulship of C. Lecanius, and M. Licinius, about the Month of July, that is, Ann. Ch. LXIV. This act procured him the infinite hatred and clamours of the People, which having in vain endeavoured several ways to remove and pacify, he at last resolved upon this project, to derive the Odium upon the Christians, whom therefore both to appease the Gods, and please the People, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and caused to be executed with all manner of acute and exquisite Tortures. This Perfection we may suppose began about the end of that, or the beginning of the following Year. And under this Perfection, I doubt not, it was that S. Peter suffered, and changed Earth for Heaven.

An Appendix to the preceding Section, containing a Vindication of S. Peter's being at Rome.

S. Peter's being at Rome unjustly question'd. The thing it self sufficiently attested by the authority of the Ancients. The express Testimonies of Papias, Irenæus, Dionysius of Corinth, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Caius and Origen produc'd to that purpose. The exceptions made to these Testimonies shew'd to be weak and trifling by a particular examination of each of them. A good cause needs not be supported by indirect methods. The Church of Rome not much advantaged by allowing this story. The needless questioning a story so well attested makes way for shaking the faith of all ancient history.

1. FINDING the truth of what is supposed and granted in the foregoing Section, to wit, *S. Peter's* going to, and suffering at *Rome*, not only doubted of heretofore in the beginning of the Reformation, while the paths of Antiquity were less frequent, and beaten out, but now again lately in this broad day-light of Ecclesiastical Knowledge not only called in question, but exploded as most vain and fabulous, and that especially by a Foreign Professor of name and note; it may not be amiss, having the opportunity of this imprecision, to make some few remarks for the better clearing of this matter.

etiam Brutum Fulmen, or observations on the Bull against Q. Elix. p. 88, &c. Lond. 1681. 4.

2. And first, I observe that this matter of fact is attested by Witnesses of the most remote Antiquity, Persons of great eminency and authority, and who lived near enough to those times, to know the truth and certainty of those things which they reported. And perhaps there is scarce any one piece of Ancient Church-history, for which there is more clear, full and constant evidence,

vidence,

dence, than there is for this. Not to insist on that passage of *Ignatius*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, which seems yet to look this way; it is expressly asserted by *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, who (as *Irenæus* * tells us) was Scholar to *S. John*, and Fellow-pupil with *S. Polycarp*; and though we should with *Eusebius* † suppose, that it was not *S. John* the Apostle, whose Scholar he was, but another surnamed the *Elder*, that lived at *Ephesus*, yet will this set him very little lower in point of time. Now *Papias* says † not only that *S. Peter* was at *Rome*, and preach'd the Christian Faith there, but that he wrote thence his First Epistle, and by his authority confirmed the Gospel, which *S. Mark*, his Disciple and Follower, at the request of the *Romans*, had drawn up. And that we may see, that he did not carelessly take up these things as Common hearfays, it was his custom wherever he met with any that had conversed with the Apostles, to pick up what *Memoires* he could meet with concerning them, and particularly to enquire what *Andrew*, what *Peter*, what *Philip*, what *Thomas* or *James* or the rest of the Disciples of our Lord had either said or done. Which sufficiently shews what care he took to derive the most accurate notices of these matters.

3. NEXT *Papias* comes *Irenæus*, a man, as *S. Jerom* styles * him, of the *Apostolical times*, and was, he tells us, *Papias* his own Scholar: however it is certain from his own account † that he was Disciple to *S. Polycarp*, a man famous for his learning, prudence, gravity and piety throughout the whole Christian World. About the Year CLXXIX. he was made Bishop of the Metropolitan Church of *Lyons* in *France*, a little before which he had been dispatch'd upon a message to *Rome*, and had conversed with the great men there. Now his testimony in this case is uncontrollable; for he says † that *Peter* and *Paul* preach'd the Gospel at *Rome*, and founded a Church there; and elsewhere, * that the Great and most Ancient Church of *Rome* was founded and constituted by the two glorious Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*; And that these blessed Apostles having founded this Church, deliver'd the Episcopal Care of it over unto *Linus*. Contemporary with *Irenæus*, or rather a little before him, was *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, a Man of singular eminency and authority in those times, who in an Epistle which he wrote † to the Church of *Rome*, compares the plantation of Christianity, which *Peter* and *Paul* had made both at *Rome* and *Corinth*; and says farther, that after they had sown the Seeds of the Evangelical Doctrine at *Corinth*, they went together into *Italy*, where they taught the Faith, and suffered Martyrdom.

4. TOWARD the latter end of the Second Century flourish'd *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, Presbyter of that Church, and Regent of the Catechetical School there, who, in his Book of *Institutions*, gives the very same testimony, which we quoted from *Papias* before †; they being both brought in by *Eusebius* as joint-evidence in this matter. *Tertullian*, who lived much about the same time at *Carthage*, that *Clemens* did at *Alexandria*, and had been, as is probable, more than once at *Rome*, affirms most expressly * more than once and again, that the Church of *Rome* was happy in having its Doctrine sealed with *Apostolical* Blood, and that *Peter* was crucified in that place, or as he expresses it, *Passioni Dominice adequatus*: that † *Peter* baptized in *Tyber*, as *John* the Baptist had done in *Jordan*, and elsewhere, † that when *Nero* first died the yet tender Faith at *Rome* with the blood of its Professors, then it was that *Peter* was girt by another, and bound to the Cross.

5. NEXT to *Tertullian* succeeds *Caius*, an Ecclesiastical Person, as *Eusebius* calls him, flourishing Anno CCXIV. in the time of Pope *Zephyrin*; who in a Book which he wrote against *Proclus*, one of the heads of the *Cataphrygian* Sect, speaking concerning the places where the Bodies of *S. Peter* and

S. Paul were buried, has these words, * I am able to shew the very Tombs of * *Ap. Euseb.* the Apostles; for whether you go into the Vatican, or into the Via Ostiensis, you will meet with the Sepulchres of those that founded that Church; meaning the Church of *Rome*. The last Witness whom I shall produce in this case is *Origen*, a Man justly revered for his great learning and piety, and who took a journey to *Rome* while Pope *Zephyrin* yet lived on purpose, as himself tells † us, to behold that Church so venerable for its Antiquity; and as himself tells cannot but be supposed, to have been very inquisitive to satisfy himself in all, especially the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of that Place. Now he expressly says † of *Peter*, that after he had preached to the dispersed Jews of the Eastern Parts, he came at last to *Rome*, where, according to his own request, he was crucified with his head downwards. Lower than *Origen* I need not descend, it being granted by those * who oppose this Story, that in the time of *Origen*, the report of *S. Peter's* going to, and suffering Martyrdom at *Rome*, was commonly received in the Christian Church. And now I would fain know, what one passage of those ancient times can be proved either by more, or by more considerable evidence than this is: and indeed considering how small a portion of the Writings of those First Ages of the Church has been transmitted to us, there is much greater cause rather to wonder that we should have so many Witnesses in this case, than that we have no more.

6. SECONDLY, I observe, that the Arguments brought to shake the Credit of this Story, and the Exceptions made to these ancient Testimonies, are very weak and trifling, and altogether unbecoming the learning and gravity of those that make them. For Arguments against it, what can be more weak and inconcluding, than to assert † the fabulousness of this Story, because no mention is made of it by *S. Luke* in the *Apostolical History*, no footsteps of it to be found in any of *S. Paul's* Epistles written from *Rome*; as if he might not come thither time enough after the accounts of the sacred Story do expire; that † *S. Peter* was never at *Rome*, because *Clemens Romanus* says nothing of it in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, when yet he mentions *S. Paul's* coming to the bounds of the West; and what yet is more absurd, because * no notice is taken of it by the *Roman Historians*, who wrote the Acts of that Age, especially *Tacitus*, *Suetonius* and *Dio*: as if these great Writers had had nothing else to do, but to fill their Commentaries with accounts concerning Christians, whom it is plain they despised and scorned, and lookt upon as a contemptible, execrable sort of men, and therefore very little beside the bare mention of them, and that too but rarely, is to be met with in any of their Writings; much less can it be expected that they should give an account of the Accidents and Circumstances of particular Christians: besides that, this whole way of reasoning is negative, and purely depends upon the silence of some few Authors, which can signify nothing, where there is such a current and uncontrollable Tradition, and so many positive Authorities to the contrary. And yet these are the best, and almost only Arguments that are offered in this matter.

7. AND of no greater force or weight are the Exceptions made to the Testimonies of the Ancients, which we have produced, as will appear by a summary enumeration of the most material of them. Against *Papias* his evidence it is excepted, † that he was *Episcopus maxime de viis*, as *Eusebius* characterizes him, a man of a very weak and undiscerning judgment, and that he derived several things strange and unheard-of from mere Tradition. But all this is said of him by *Eusebius* only upon the account of some doctrinal principles and opinions, and some rash and absurd explications of our Saviour's Doctrine, carelessly taken up from others, and handed down without due examination;

* Epist. ad Theodor. p. 156.

† Ap. Euseb. lib. 2. c. 25. p. 188.

Adv. Hæres. l. 2. c. 1. p. 225. † Ibid. c. 3. p. 232.

† Ap. Euseb. lib. 2. c. 25. p. 62.

Luc. supra citato.

* De præf. Hæres. cap. 25. p. 215.

† De Baptismo. cap. 4. p. 225. † Scorpiae. cap. ultimo. p. 500.

lib. 2. cap. 25. pag. 67.

† Ib. lib. 6. c. 14. p. 216.

† Tom. 3. Exposit. in Gen. ap. Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 1. p. 71.

* Spanh. ib. c. 3. p. 130.

† Id. ib. c. 2. p. 22.

† Ib. n. 16. p. 45.

* Ib. n. 17. p. 47.

† Id. ib. c. 2. p. 79.

mination; particularly his *Milkenary* or Chiliaftick Notions; but what is this to invalidate his Testimony in the case before us, a matter of a quite different nature from those mentioned by *Eusebius*? May not a man be mistaken in abstruse Speculations, and yet be fit enough to judge in ordinary Cases? as if none but a man of acute parts and a subtle apprehension, one able to pierce into the reasons, consistency and consequences of doctrinal conclusions were capable to deliver down matters of fact, things fresh in memory, done within much less than an hundred years, in themselves highly probable and wherein no interest could be served, either for him to deceive others, or for others to deceive him.

|| *ib.* n. 20. p. 100.

8. AGAINST *Irenæus* it is put in bar, that || he gave not this testimony, till after his return from *Rome*, that is, about an hundred and forty years after *S. Peter's* first pretended coming thither; which is no great abatement in a Testimony of so remote antiquity, when they had so many evidences and opportunities of satisfying themselves in the truth of things which to us are utterly lost; that before his times many frivolous Traditions began to take place, and that he himself is sometimes mistaken: the proper inference from which, if pursued to its just issue, must be this, either that he is always mistaken, or at least that he is so this.

* *ib.* n. 25. p. 113.

9. THE Authority of *Dionysius of Corinth* is thrown off with this, * that it is of no greater value than that of *Irenæus*; that Churches then began to emulate each other, by pretending to be of Apostolical foundation, and that *Dionysius* herein consulted the honour of his own Church, by deriving upon it the Authority of those two great Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, and in that respect setting it on the same level with *Rome*: which yet is a mere suggestion of his own, and so far as it respects *Dionysius*, is said without any just warrant from Antiquity. Besides, his Testimony its self is called in question †, for affirming that *Peter* and *Paul* went together from *Corinth* into *Italy*, and there taught, and suffered Martyrdom at the same time. Against their coming together to *Corinth*, and thence passing into *Italy*, nothing is brought, but that the account which *S. Luke* gives of the Travels and Preachings of these Apostles is not consistent with *S. Peter's* coming to *Rome* under *Claudius*, which let them look to, whose interest it is that it should be so, I mean them of the Church of *Rome*. And for his saying that they suffered Martyrdom *κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν*, at the same time; it does not necessarily imply their suffering the same day and year, but admits of some considerable distance of time; it

|| *Differt. de Ann. Convers. Paul.* n. 17. p. 202.

being elsewhere granted || by our Authour, that this Phrase, *κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν*, is oft used in *Josephus* in a lax sense, as including what happened within the compass of some years.

* *ubi* *supra*. n. 18. p. 27.

10. TO enervate the Testimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, it is said *, (with how little pretence of reason, let any man judge) that *Eusebius* quotes it out of a Book of *Clemens*, that is now lost, and that he tells us not whence *S. Clemens* derived the report; that abundance of *Apocryphal* Writings were extant in his time, and that he himself inserts a great many frivolous Traditions into his Writings. Which if it were granted, would do no service in this Cause, unless it were asserted, that all things he says are doubtful or fabulous, because some few are so.

† *ib.* n. 31. p. 123.

|| *N.* 32. p. 125.

11. MUCH after the same rate 'tis argued † against *Tertullian*, that he was a man of great credulity, that he sets down some passages concerning *S. John*, which are not related by other Writers of those times; that || he was mistaken in our Saviour's Age at the time of his Passion; that he was imposed upon in the account which he says *Tiberius* the Emperor sent to the Senate concerning *Christ*: which forsooth must needs be false, because no mention is made of it by *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, or *Dio*.

12. THE

12. THE exceptions to *Caius* are no whit stronger than the former, (*viz.*) * that he flourished but in the beginning of the third Century, when many false reports were set on foot, and that it is not reasonable to believe that in those times of persecution the Tombs of the Apostles should be undefaced, and had in such publick honour and veneration: as if the places where the Apostles were buried could not be familiarly known to Christians, without being commonly shewn to their Heathen Persecutors, or without erecting pompous and stately Monuments over their Graves, to provoke the rage and malice of their Enemies to fall foul upon them.

13. AGAINST *Origen*, nothing is pretended, † but what is notoriously † *ib.* n. 34. p. 129. vain and frivolous; as that perhaps his reports concerning the travails of the Apostles are not sufficiently certain; that in some other cases he produces testimonies out of *Apocryphal* Writings; and that many things are reported concerning himself, which are at best obscure and ambiguous, and that *Baronius* and *Valesius* cannot agree about the time of his Journey to *Rome*. I have but lightly toucht upon most of these exceptions, because the very mention of them, is enough to supersede a studied and operose Confutation: and indeed they are generally such as may with equal force be levelled almost against any Ancient History.

14. *THIRDLI*, I observe how far zeal even for the best cause may sometimes transport learned men to secure it by undue and imprudent methods, and such as one would think were made use of rather to shew the Argumen and subtilty of the Authour, than any strength or cogency in the Arguments. Plain it is, that they who set themselves to undermine this story, design therein to serve the interests of the Protestant Cause, against the vain and unjust pretences of the See of *Rome*, and utterly to subvert the very foundations of that title whereby they lay claim to *S. Peter's* Power. This indeed could it be fairly made good, and without offering violence to the authority of those Ancient and Venerable Sages of the Christian Church, would give a mortal blow to the *Romish* Cause, and free us from several of their groundless and sophistical Allegations. But when this cannot be done without calling in question the first and most early Records of the Church, and throwing off the Authority of the Ancients, *Non tali auxilio*— Truth needs no such weapons to defend its self, but is able to stand up, and triumph in its own strength, without calling in such indirect artifices to support it. We can safely grant the main of the story, that *S. Peter* did go to *Rome*, and came thither *ἐν τέλει* (as *Origen* expressly says || he did) about the latter end of his life, and there suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of *Christ*; and yet this no disadvantage to our selves, nay it's that which utterly confounds all their accounts of things, and proves their pretended story of *S. Peter's* being 25 years Bishop of that See to be not only vain, but false, as has been sufficiently shewn in the foregoing Section. But to deny that *S. Peter* ever was at *Rome*, contrary to the whole stream and current of Antiquity, and the unanimous consent of the most early Writers, and that merely upon little firmities, and trifling cavils; and in order thereunto to treat the Reverend Fathers, whose memories have ever been dear and sacred in the Christian Church, with rude reflexions and spitefull insinuations, is a course I confess not over-ingenuous, and might give too much occasion to our Adversaries of the Church of *Rome*, to charge us (as they sometimes do, falsely enough) with a neglect of Antiquity, and contempt of the Fathers; but that it is notoriously known, that all the great names of the Protestant Party, men most ce-

lebated

lebated

lebrated for learning and piety, have always paid a most just deference and veneration to Antiquity, and upon that account have freely allowed this story of S. Peter's going to Rome, as our Authour, who opposes it, is forced to

* B. C. I. n. II. grant *
P. 17.

15. *FOURTHLY*, It deserves to be considered whether the needless questioning a story so well attested, may not in time open too wide a gap to shake the credit of all History. For if things done at so remote a distance of time, and which have all the evidence that can be desired to make them good, may be doubted of or denied, merely for the sake of some few weak and insignificant exceptions, which may be made against them, what is there that can be secure? There are few passages of Ancient History, against which a man of wit and parts may not start some objections, either from the Writers of them, or from the account of the things themselves; and shall they therefore be presently discarded, or condemned to the number of the false or fabulous? If this liberty be indulged, farewell Church-history, nay 'tis to be feared, whether the Sacred Story will be able long to maintain its Divine authority. We live in an Age of great Scepticism and infidelity, wherein men have in a great measure put off the reverence due to Sacred Things; And witty men seem much delighted to hunt out objections, bestow their censures, expose the credit of former Ages, and to believe little but what themselves either see or hear. And therefore it will become wise and good men to be very tender, how they loosen, much more remove the old land-marks, which the Fathers have set, lest we run our selves before we be aware into a labyrinth and confusion, from whence it will not be easy to get out.

The End of S. Peter's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. PAUL.



He was beheaded by the command of Nero the Roman Emperor. Here this is the Epistle, for the Conversion of S. Paul.



Act 9. 3. 4. And as he journeyed he came near to Damascus suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven. He fell to the earth & heard a voice saying unto him Saul Saul &c. Ver. 7. And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless hearing a voice but seeing no man.

SECT. I.

Of S. PAUL, from his Birth till his Conversion.

S. Paul, why placed next Peter. Tarsus the place of his Birth; an University, and a Roman Corporation. His Parents of the old stock of Israel; descended of the Tribe of Benjamin. Jacob's Prophecy applied to him by the Ancients. His Names; Saul, whence; Paul, when assumed, and why. His Education in the Schools of Tarsus, and in the Trade of Tent-making. The custom of the Jews in bringing up their Youth to Manual Trades. His study of the Law under

M 2

the

the Tutorage of Gamaliel. This Gamaliel, who. Why said to have been a Christian. Sitting at the feet of their Masters the posture of learners. His joining himself to the Sect of the Pharisees. An inquiry into the Temper and Manners of that Sect. The fiery Zeal and Activity of his Temper. His being engaged in Stephen's Martyrdom. His violent persecution of the Church. His journey to Damascus. His Conversion by the way, and the manner of it. His blindness. His rapture into the Third Heaven, when (probably) His sight restored. His being baptized, and preaching Christ.

THOUGH S. Paul was none of the Twelve Apostles, yet had he the honour of being an Apostle extraordinary, and to be immediately called in a way peculiar to himself. He justly deserves a place next S. Peter; for as in their lives they were pleasant and lovely, so in their death they were not divided: especially if it be true, that they both suffered not only for the same cause, but at the same time, as well as place. S. Paul was born at Tarsus, the Metropolis of Cilicia; a City infinitely rich and populous, and what contributed more to the fame and honour of it, an Academy, furnished with Schools of Learning, where the Scholars so closely plied their Studies, that as * Strabo informs us, they excelled in all Arts of polite Learning and Philosophy those of other places, yea, even of Alexandria, and Athens it self; and that even Rome was beholden to it for many of its best Professors. It was a Roman Municipium, or free Corporation, invested with many Franchises and Privileges by Julius Cæsar, and Augustus, who granted to the Inhabitants of it the honours and immunities of Citizens of Rome. In which respect S. Paul owned and asserted it as the privilege of his Birth-right, that he was a Roman, and thereby free from being bound or beaten. True it is that † S. Hierome (followed herein by || one, who himself travelled in these parts) makes him born at Gischalis, a well fortified Town in Judea, which being besieged and taken by the Roman Army, his Parents fled away with him and dwelt at Tarsus. But besides that this contradicts S. Paul, who expressly affirms, that he was born at Tarsus, there needs no more to confute this opinion, than that * S. Hierome elsewhere flights it as a fabulous report.

2. HIS Parents were Jews, and that of the Ancient stock, not entering in by the gate of *profelytism*, but originally descended from that Nation, which surely he means, when he says, That he was an Hebrew of the Hebrews, either because both his Parents were Jews, or rather that all his Ancestours had been so. They belonged to the Tribe of Benjamin, whose Founder was the youngest Son of the old Patriarch Jacob, who thus prophesied of him. Benjamin shall raven as a Wolf, in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil. This prophetic character † Tertullian, and others after him will have to be accomplished in our Apostle. As a ravening Wolf in the morning devouring the prey, that is, as a Persecutor of the Churches, in the first part of his life destroying the flock of God: In the evening dividing the spoil, that is, in his declining and reduced age, as Doctour of the Nations, feeding and distributing to Christ's sheep.

3. WE find him described by two names in Scripture, one Hebrew, and the other Latin; probably referring both to his Jewish and Roman capacity and relation. The one, Saul, a name frequent and common in the Tribe of Benjamin ever since the first King of Israel who was of that name, was chosen out of that Tribe. In memory whereof they were wont to give their Children this name at their Circumcision. His other was, Paul, assumed by him, as some think, at his Conversion, to denote his humility; as others, in memory of his converting Sergius Paulus the Roman Governour, in imitation of the

Generals

Generals and Emperours of Rome, who were wont from the places and Nations that they conquered, to assume the name, as an additional honour and title to themselves, as Scipio Africanus, Cæsar Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus, &c. But this seems no-way consistent with the great humility of this Apostle. More probable therefore it is, what * Origen thinks, That he had a double name given him at his Circumcision; Saul, relating to his Jewish original; and Paul, referring to the Roman Corporation, where he was born. And this the Scripture seems to favour, when it says, Saul, who also is called Paul. And this perhaps may be the reason why St. Luke, so long as he speaks of him as conversant among the Jews in Syria, styles him Saul: but afterwards when he left those parts, and went among the Gentiles, he gives him the name of Paul, as a name more frequent, and familiarly known to them. And for the same reason no doubt he constantly calls himself by that name in all his Epistles written to the Gentile-Churches. Or if it was taken up by him afterwards, it was probably done at his Conversion, according to the custome and manner of the Hebrews; who used many times upon solemn and eminent occasions, especially upon their entering upon a more strict and religious course of life, to change their names, and assume one which they had not before.

4. IN his Youth he was brought up in the Schools of Tarsus, fully instructed in all the liberal Arts and Sciences, whereby he became admirably acquainted with foreign and external Authours. Together with which he was brought up to a particular Trade and course of life; according to the great Maxim and principle of the Jews, That, * He who teaches not his son a Trade, teaches him to be a Thief. They thought it not only fit, but a necessary part of Education, for their wisest and most learned Rabbins to be brought up to a manual Trade, whereby, if occasion was, they might be able to maintain themselves. Hence (as || Drusus observes) nothing more common in their writings, than to have them denominated from their callings, Rabbi Jose the Tanner, Rabbi Jochanan the Shoemaker, Rabbi Juda the Baker, &c. A custome taken up by the Christians, especially the † Monks and Ascetics of the Primitive times, who together with their strict profession and almost incredible exercises of devotion, each took upon him a particular Trade, whereto he daily wrought, and by his own hand-labour maintained himself. And this course of life the Jews were very careful should be free from all suspicion of scandal. אומנות נקייה (as they call * it) a clean, that is honest Trade, being wont to say, That he was happy that had his Parents employed in an honest and commendable Calling; as he was miserable, who saw them conversant in any fordid and dishonest course of life. The Trade our Apostle was put to, was that of Tent-making, whereto he wrought, for some particular reasons, even after his calling to the Apostolate. An honest, but mean course of life, and as † Chrysostome observes, an argument that his Parents were not of the nobler and better rank; however, it was an useful and gainfull Trade, especially in those war-like Countries, where Armies had such frequent use of Tents.

5. HAVING run through the whole circle of the Sciences, and laid the sure foundations of humane Learning at Tarsus; he was by his Parents sent to Jerusalem, to be perfected in the study of the Law, and put under the Tutorage of Rabban Gamaliel. This Gamaliel was the son of Rabban Symeon (probably presumed to be the same Symeon that came into the Temple, and took Christ into his arms) President of the Court of the Sanhedrim: he was a Doctour of the Law, a Person of great wisdom and prudence, and head at that time of one of the Families of the Schools at Jerusalem. A man of chief eminency

* Geograph.
lib. 14. p. 463.

Act. 22. 25, 26.

† De Script. Eccl.
in Paul.
|| Bellon. Observ.
lib. 2. c. 99. p. 366.

* Com. in Phil.
lem. p. 263.
Tom. 9.

Gen. 49. 27.
† Adv. Marc.
lib. 5. c. 1. p. 451.

* Prefat. in Ep.
ad Rom. fol. 132.
Tom. 3.

vid. D. Lightf.
Hor. Heb. in 1. ad
Cor. 6. 1. v. 1.

* כל שאני
בליט את
בני אומנות
כאילו
למלך
ליסטור
Talm. Tract.
Kiddushin. c. 1.
ap. Buxtorf. in
voc.

אומנות
|| Annot. in
Act. 18. 3.
† Epiph. Sec.
p. 451.

* Buxtorf. ad
figr.
Act. 18. 3.

De Land.
S. Paul. Tom. 5.
p. 512.

AA. 22. 3 & 4.

eminency and authority in the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, and President of it at that very time when our Blessed Saviour was brought before it. He lived to a great Age, and was buried by *Onkelos* the Profelyte, Authour of the *Chaldee Paraphrase* (one who infinitely loved and honoured him) at his own vast expense and charge. He it was that made that wife and excellent speech in the *Sanhedrim*, in favour of the Apostles and their Religion. Nay, he himself is * said (though I know not why) to have been a *Christian*, and his sitting amongst the Senators to have been conniv'd at by the Apostles, that he might be the better friend to their affairs. || *Chryssippus*, Presbyter of the Church of *Jerusalem* added, that he was brothers son to *Nicodemus*, together with whom he and his son *Abib* were baptized by *Peter* and *John*. This account he derives from *Lucian*, a Presbyter also of that Church under *John* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, who in an Epistle of his still extant, tells us, that he had this, together with some other things, communicated to him in a Vision by *Gamaliel* himself. Which if true, no better evidence could be desired in this matter. At the feet of this *Gamaliel*, *S. Paul* tells us, he was brought up, alluding to the custome of the *Jewish* Masters, who were wont to sit, while their Disciples and Scholars stood at their feet. Which honorary custome continued till the death of this *Gamaliel*, and was then left off. Their own * *Talmud* telling us, That since our old Rabban *Gamaliel* died, the honour of the Law was perished, *Purisy* and *Pharisaism* were destroyed: which the *Gloss* thus explains, That whilst he lived, men were found, and studied the Law standing; but he being dead, weakness crept into the World, and they were forced to sit.

Gal. 1. 14.

6. UNDER the Tuition of this great Master *S. Paul* was Educated in the knowledge of the Law, wherein he made such quick and vast improvements, that he soon out-strip his fellow-Disciples. Amongst the various Sects at that time in the *Jewish* Church, he was especially Educated in the Principles and Institutions of the *Pharisees*: Of which Sect was both his Father and his Master, whereof he became a most earnest and zealous professor. This being, as himself tells us, the strictest Sect of their Religion. For the understanding whereof, it may not be amiss a little to enquire into the Temper and Manners of this Sect. * *Josephus*, though himself a *Pharisee*, gives this character of them, That they were a crafty and subtle generation of men, and so perverse even to Princes themselves, that they would not fear many times openly to affront and oppose them. And so far had they || insinuated themselves into the affections and estimations of the populary, that their good or ill word was enough to make, or blast any one with the People, who would implicitly believe them, let their report be never so false or malicious. And therefore *Alexander Jannæus*, when he lay a-dying, wisely advised his Queen by all means to comply with them, and to seem to Govern by their counsel and direction, affirming, that this had been the greatest cause of his fatal miscarriage, and that which had derived the odium of the Nation upon him, that he had offended this sort of men. Certain it is, that they were infinitely proud and insolent, furly and ill-natured, that they hated all mankind but themselves, and censured whoever would not be of their way, as a Villain and Reprobate: greatly zealous to gather Profelytes to their party, not to make them more religious, but more fierce and cruel, more carping and censorious, more heady and high-minded, in short, twofold more the children of the Devil, than they were before. All Religion and kindness was confined within the bounds of their own party, and the first principles wherewith they inspired their new converts were, That none but they were the godly party, and that all other persons were slaves and sons of the Earth: and

* Clem. Recog. nit. lib. 1. p. 15. 17.
|| Ap. Phot. Cod. CLXXI. Col. 384. citat Luciani huc de re Epist. ap. Sur. ad. 3. Aug. p. 31. Cy Bar. ad Ann. 415.

* Sorah. c. 9. halac. 15. apud Light. Hor. H. in Marth. 13. 2.

* Antiq. Jud. lib. 17. cap. 3. p. 585.

|| Id. lib. 11. 3. 6. 23. p. 453.

and therefore especially endeavoured to inspire them with a mighty zeal and fierceness against all that differed from them, so that if any one did but speak a good word of our Saviour, he should be presently excommunicated and cast out, persecuted and devoted to the death. To this end they were wont, not onely to separate, but discriminate themselves from the herd and community, by some peculiar notes and badges of distinction; such as their long Robes, broad Phylacteries, and their large Fringes and borders of their Garments, whereby they made themselves known from the rest of men. These dogged and ill-natured principles, together with their seditious, unnatural, unjust, unmerciful, and uncharitable behaviour, which otherwise would have made them sink above-ground in the nostrils of men, they sought to palliate and varnish over with a more than ordinary pretence and profession of Religion: but were especially active and diligent in what cost them little, the outward instances of Religion, such duties especially as did more immediately refer to God, as frequent fasting, and praying, which they did very often, and very long with demure and mortified looks, in a whining and an affected tone, and this almost in every corner of the streets: and indeed so contrived the scheme of their Religion, that what they did, might appear above-ground, where they might be seen of men to the best advantage.

7. THOUGH this seems to have been the general temper and disposition of the party, yet doubtless there were some amongst them of better and honest principles than the rest. In which number we have just reason to reckon our Apostle: who yet was deeply leavened with the active and fiery genius of the Sect; not able to brook any opposite party in Religion, especially if late and novel. Inasmuch that when the Jews were resolved to doe execution upon *Stephen*, he stood by and kept the cloaths of them that did it. Whether he was any farther engaged in the death of this innocent and good man, we do not find. However this was enough loudly to proclaim his approbation and consent. And therefore elsewhere we find him indicting himself for this fact, and pleading guilty. When the blood of thy Martyr *Stephen* was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him. God chiefly inspects the heart, and if the vote be passed there, writes the man guilty, though he stir no farther. 'Tis easie to murder another by a silent wish, or a passionate desire. In all moral actions God values the will for the deed, and reckons the man a companion in the sin, who, though possibly he may never actually joyn in it, does yet inwardly applaud and like it. The storm thus begun, encreased a pace, and a violent persecution began to arise, which miserably afflicted and dispersed the Christians at *Jerusalem*. In which our Apostle was a prime Agent and Minister, raging about in all parts with a mad and ungovernable zeal, searching out the Saints, beating them in the Synagogues, compelling many to blasphemy, imprisoning others, and procuring them to be put to death. Indeed he was a kind of Inquisitor *Hæreticæ pravitatis* to the High-Priest, by whom he was employed to hunt and find out these upstart *Hæreticks*, who preached against the Law of *Moses*, and the Traditions of the Fathers. Accordingly having made strange havock at *Jerusalem*, he addressed himself to the *Sanhedrim*, and there took out a Warrant and Commission to go down and ransack the Synagogues at *Damascus*. How eternally insatiable is fury and a misguided zeal! how restless and unwearied in its designs of cruelty! it had already sufficiently harassed the poor Christians at *Jerusalem*, but not content to have vexed them there, and to have driven them thence, it persecuted them unto strange Cities, following them even to *Damascus*.

Acts 22. 20.

Acts 9. 1.

mafcus it ſelf, whither many of theſe perſecuted Chriſtians had fled for ſhelter, reſolving to bring up thoſe whom he found there to *Jeruſalem*, in order to their puniſhment and execution. For the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim* had not only power of ſeizing and ſcourging offenders againſt their Law within the bounds of their own Country, but by the connivence and favour of the *Romans*, might ſend into other Countries, where there were any Synagogues that acknowledged a dependence in Religious matters upon the Council at *Jeruſalem*, to apprehend them; as here they ſent *Paul* to *Damaſcus* to fetch up what Chriſtians he could find, to be arraigned and ſentenced at *Jeruſalem*.

Gal. 1. 15. 8. BUT God who had deſigned him for work of another nature, and ſeparated him from his Mothers womb to the preaching of the Goſpel, ſtopt him in his journey. For while he was together with his company travelling on the Road, not far from *Damaſcus*, on a ſudden a gleam of light beyond the ſplendour and brightneſs of the Sun, was darted from Heaven upon them, whereat being ſtrangely amazed and confounded, they all fell to the ground, a Voice calling to him, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* To which he replied, *Lord, who art thou?* Who told him, That he was *Jeſus* whom he perſecuted, that what was done to the members was done to the head, that it was hard for him to kick againſt the pricks, that he now appeared to him, to make choice of him for a *Miniſter*, and a *Wiſneſs* of what he had now ſeen, and ſhould after hear; that he would ſtand by him, and preſerve him, and make him a great inſtrument in the conversion of the *Gentile* World. This ſaid, He aſked our Lord, what he would have him to doe? who had him go into the City, where he ſhould receive his Anfwer. S. Paul's companions, who had been preſent at this tranſaction, heard the voice, but ſaw not him that ſpoke to him: though elſewhere the Apoſtle himſelf affirms, that they ſaw the light, but heard not the voice of him that ſpoke, that is, they heard a confuſed ſound, but not a diſtinct and articulate voice; or, more probably, being ignorant of the *Hebrew* Language, wherein our Lord ſpoke to Saint Paul, they heard the words, but knew not the ſenſe and the meaning of them.

9. S. PAUL by this time was gotten up, but though he found his feet, yet he had loſt his eyes, being ſtricken blind with the extraordinary brightneſs of the light, and was accordingly led by his companions into *Damaſcus*. In which condition he there remained, faſting three days together. At this time, we may probably ſuppoſe it was, that he had that *viſion* and ceaſaſe, wherein he was taken up into the *third Heaven*, where he ſaw and heard things great and unutterable, and was fully inſtructed in the myſteries of the Goſpel, and hence expreſsly affirms, that he was not taught the Goſpel which he preached by man, but by the Revelation of *Jeſus Chriſt*. There was at this time at *Damaſcus* one *Ananias*, a very devout and religious man, (one of the ſeventy Diſciples, as the Ancients inform us, and probably the firſt planter of the Chriſtian Church in this City) and though a Chriſtian, yet of great reputation amongſt all the *Jews*. To him our Lord appeared, commanding him to go into ſuch a ſtreet, and to ſuch an houſe, and there enquire for one *Saul* of *Tarſus*, who was now at Prayer, and had ſeen him in a Viſion coming to him, to lay his hands upon him, that he might receive his fight. *Ananias* ſtartled at the name of the man, having heard of his bloody temper and practices, and upon what errand he was now come down to the City. But our Lord to take off his fears, told him, that he miſtook the man, that he had now taken him to be a *choſen veſſel*, to preach the Goſpel both to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and before the greateſt Potentates upon Earth, acquainting him with what great things he ſhould both doe and ſuffer

suffer for his ſake, what chains and imprifonments, what racks and ſcourges, what hunger and thirſt, what ſhipwracks and death, he ſhould undergo. Upon this *Ananias* went, laid his hands upon him, told him that our Lord had ſent him to him, that he might receive his fight, and be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, which was no ſooner done, but thick films like ſcales fell from his eyes, and his fight returned. And the next thing he did was to be baptized, and ſolemnly initiated into the Chriſtian Faith. After which he joyned himſelf to the Diſciples of that place, to the equal joy and wonder of the Church: that the *Wolf* ſhould ſo ſoon lay down its fierceneſs, and put on the meek nature of a *Lamb*; that he who had lately been ſo violent a perſecutour, ſhould now become not a profeſſour onely, but a preacher of that Faith, which before he had routed and deſtroyed.

S E C T. II.

Of S. Paul, from his Converſion, till the Council at *Jeruſalem*.

S. Paul's leaving *Damaſcus*, and why. His three Tears Miniſtery in Arabia. His return to *Damaſcus*. The greatneſs of that City. The deſign of the Jews to ſurprize S. Paul, and the manner of his eſcape. His coming to *Jeruſalem*, and converſe with Peter and James. His departure thence. The Diſciples firſt ſtyled Chriſtians at Antioch. This when done, and by whom. The ſolemnity of it. The importance of the word *χριστιανισμός*. *Χριστιανισμός*, what. S. Paul's Journey to *Jeruſalem* with contributions. His voyage to Cyprus, and planting Chriſtianity there. The oppoſition made by Elymas, and his ſevere puniſhment. The Proconſul's converſion. His preaching to the Jews at Antioch of *Piſidia*. His curing a Cripple at Lyſtra; and diſcourſe to the people about their Idolatry. The Apoſtles way of arguing noted; and his diſcourſe concerning the Being and Providence of God illuſtrated. His confirming the Churches in the Faith. The controverſie at Antioch; and S. Paul's account of it in the Synod at *Jeruſalem*.

SAINT Paul ſtaid not long at *Damaſcus* after his Converſion, but having received an immediate intimation from Heaven, probably in the *Ecclaſie* wherein he was caught up thither, he waited for no other counſel or direction in the caſe, leſt he ſhould ſeem to derive his Miſion and Authority from Men, and being not diſobedient to the Heavenly Viſion, he preſently retired out of the City; and the ſooner probably, to decline the Odium of the *Jews*, and the effects of that rage and malice, which he was ſure would purſue and follow him. He withdrew into the parts of *Arabia*, (thoſe parts of Gal. 1. 17, 18. it, that lay next to the *ἡγερέα Δαμασκού*, the Region of *Damaſcus*; nay *Damaſcus* it ſelf was ſometimes accounted part of *Arabia*, as we ſhall note by and by from *Tertullian*) where he ſpent the firſt fruits of his Miniſtery, preaching up and down for three Years together. After which he returned back to *Damaſcus*, preached openly in the Synagogues, and convinced the *Jews* of *Chriſt's* Meſſiaſhip, and the truth of his Religion. Angry and enraged hereat, they reſolved his Ruine, which they knew no better way to effect, than by exalperating and incenſing the Civil powers againſt him. *Damaſcus* was a

rusalem, they went to *Antioch* the *Metropolis* of *Pisidia*. Where entering into the *Jewish* Synagogue on the *Sabbath* Day after some *Sessions* of the Law were read, they were invited by the Rulers of the Synagogue to discourse a little to the People. Which *S. Paul* did in a large and eloquent Sermon, wherein he put them in mind of the many great and particular blessings which God had heaped upon the *Jews*, from the first Originals of that Nation; that he had crowned them all with the sending of his Son, to be the *Messiah* and the Saviour; that though the *Jews* had ignorantly crucified this just, innocent Person, yet that God according to his own predictions had raised him up from the dead, that through Him they preached forgiveness of sins, and that by him alone it was that Men, if ever, must be justified and acquitted from that Guilt and Condemnation, which all the pompous Ceremonies, and Ministries of the *Mosaic* Law could never do away: That therefore they should do well to take heed lest by their opposing this way of Salvation, they should bring upon themselves that prophetic curse, which God had threatened to the *Jews* of old for their great contumacy and neglect. This Sermon wanted not its due effects. The *Proselyte-Jews* desired the Apostles to discourse again to them of this matter the next *Sabbath* Day, the Apostles all persuading them to continue firm in the belief of these things. The Day was no sooner come, but the whole City almost flocked to be their Auditors, which when the *Jews* saw, acted by a spirit of envy, they began to blaspheme, and to contradict the Apostles, who nothing daunted, told them that our Lord had charged them *first* to preach the Gospel to the *Jews*, which since they so obstinately rejected, they were now to address themselves to the *Gentiles*, who hearing this exceedingly rejoiced at the good news, and magnified the Word of God, and as many of them as were thus prepared and disposed towards eternal life, heartily closed with it and embraced it; the Apostles preaching not there only, but through the whole Country round about. The *Jews* more exasperated than before, resolved to be rid of their company, and to that end persuaded some of the more devout and honourable Women, to deal with their Husbands, Persons of prime rank and quality in the City, by whose means they were driven out of those parts. Whereat *Paul* and *Barnabas* shaking off the dust of their Feet, as a Testimony against their ingratitude and infidelity, departed from them.

5. THE next place they went to was *Iconium*, where at first they found kind entertainment, and good success, God setting a seal to their Doctrine by the Testimony of his Miracles. But here the *Jewish* malice began again to ferment, exciting the People to sedition and a mutiny against them. Inomuch that hearing of a design to stone them, they seasonably withdrew to *Lystra*: where they first made their way by a miraculous cure. For *S. Paul* seeing an impotent Cripple that had been lame from his Mother's Womb, cured him with the speaking of a word. The People who beheld the Miracle, had so much natural *Logic*, as, to infer, that there was a Divinity in the thing, though mistaking the Author, they applied it to the Instruments, crying out, That the *Gods* in humane shape were come down from Heaven; *Paul* as being chief Speaker, they termed *Mercury*, the God of speech and eloquence; *Barnabas* by reason of his Age and gravity, they called *Jupiter*, the Father of their Gods; accordingly the *Syriack* Interpreter here renders *Jupiter* by ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ the Lord, or Sovereign of the Gods. The fame of this being

spread over the City, the Priest of *Jupiter* brought Oxen, dressed up with Garlands after the *Gentile* Rites, to the House where the Apostles were, to doe Sacrifice to them. Which they no sooner understood, but in detestation

of those undue hours offered to them, they rent their clothes, and told them that they were men of the same make and temper, of the same passions and infirmities with themselves, that the design of their Preaching was to convert them from these vain Idolatries and Superstitions, to the worship of the true God, the great Parent of the World, who though heretofore he had left Men to themselves, to go on in their own ways of *Idolatrous* worship, yet had he given sufficient evidence of himself in the constant returns of a gracious and benign Providence in crowning the Year with fruitful Seasons, and other acts of common kindness and bounty to Mankind.

6. A SHORT discourse, but very rational and convictive, which it may not be amiss a little more particularly to consider, and the method which the Apostle uses to convince these blind Idolaters. He proves Divine Honours to be due to God alone, as the Sovereign Being of the World, and that there is such a Supreme infinite Being, he argues from his Works both of Creation and Providence. Creation, *He is the living God that made Heaven, and Earth, the Sea, and all things that are therein.* Providence, *He left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave rain from Heaven, and fruitful Seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.* Than which no argument can be more apt and proper to work upon the minds of men. *That which may be known of God is manifest to the Gentiles, for God hath shewed it unto them.* For the invisible things of him, from the Creation of the World, even his eternal power and Godhead, are clearly seen and understood by the things that are made : It being impossible impartially to survey the several parts of the Creation, and not see in every place evident footsteps of an infinite wisdom, power and goodness. Who can look up unto the Heavens, and not there discern an Almighty wisdom, beautifully garnishing those upper Regions, distinguishing the circuits, and perpetuating the motions of the Heavenly Equally : placing the Sun in the middle of the Heavens, that he might equally dispense and communicate his light and heat to all parts of the World, and not burn the Earth with the too near approach of his scorching beams : by which means the Creatures are refreshed and cheered, the Earth impregnated with fruits and flowers by the benign influence of a vital heat, and the vicissitudes and seasons of the Year regularly distinguished by their constant and orderly revolutions. Whence are the great Orbs of Heaven kept in continual motion, always going in the same track, but because there's a Superior power that keeps these great wheels a-going ? Who is it that *poises the balancings of the Clouds ; that divides a water-course for the overflowing of waters, and a way for the lightning of the Thunder :* Who can bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion ? Or who can bring forth Mazaroth in his season, or guide Arcturus with his sons ? Do these come by chance ? or by the secret appointment of infinite wisdom ? Who can consider the admirable thinness and purity of the Air, its immediate suberviency to the great ends of the Creation, its being the treasury of vital breath to all living Creatures, without which the next moment must put a period to our days, and not reflect upon that Divine wisdom that contrived it ? If we come down upon the Earth, there we discover a Divine Providence, supporting it with the pillars of an invisible power, *stretching the North over the empty space, and hanging the Earth upon nothing ;* filling it with great variety of admirable and useful Creatures, and maintaining them all according to their kinds at his own cost and charges. 'Tis he that clothes the Grails with a delightful verdure, that *crowns the Year with his loving kindness,* and

makes the Valleys stand thick with corn; that causes the Grass to grow for the Cattel, and Herb for the service of Man, that he may bring forth food out of the Earth; and Wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and Oil to make his face to shine, and bread which strengtheneth man's heart; that beautifies the Lilies that neither toil nor spin, and that with a glory that outshines Solomon in all his pomp and grandeur. From Land let us ship our observations to Sea, and there we may decry the wise effects of infinite understanding: A wide Ocean fitly disposed for the mutual commerce and correspondence of one part of Mankind with another; filled with great and admirable Fishes, and enriched with the treasures of the deep. What but an Almighty Arme can shut in the Sea with doors, bind it by a perpetual decree that it cannot pass, and tie up its wild raging Waves with no stronger cordage than ropes of Sand? Who but he commands the storm, and stills the tempest? and brings the Mariner, when at his wits-end in the midst of the greatest dangers, to his desired Haven? They that go down to the Sea in ships, and doe business in great waters; these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. So impossible is it for a Man to stand in any part of the Creation, wherein he may not discern evidences enough of an infinitely wise, gracious and Omnipotent Being. Thus much I thought good to add, to illustrate the *Apostle's* argument; whence he strongly infers, that 'tis very reasonable, that we should worship and adore this great Creatour and Benefactor, and not transfer the honours due to him alone upon Men of frail and sinfull passions, and much less upon dumb Idols, unable either to make or to help themselves. An argument, which though very plain and plausible, and adapted to the meanest understandings, yet was all little enough to restrain the People from offering Sacrifice to them. But how soon was the Wind turned into another corner? The old spirit of the Jews did still haunt and pursue them: Who coming from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, exasperated and stirred up the multitude. And they who just before accounted them as Gods, used them now worse, not onely than ordinary men, but slaves. For in a mighty rage they fall upon S. Paul, stone him, as they thought, dead, and then drag him out of the City: Whither the Christians of that place coming, probably to inter him, he suddenly revived, and rose up amongst them, and the next day went thence to *Derbe*.

7. HERE they preached the Gospel, and then returned to *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* of *Pisidia*, confirming the Christians of those places in the belief and profession of Christianity, earnestly persuading them to persevere, and not be discouraged with those troubles and persecutions which they must expect would attend the profession of the Gospel. And that all this might succeed the better, with fasting and prayer they ordained Governours and Pastours in every Church, and having recommended them to the grace of God, departed from them. From hence they passed through *Pisidia*, and thence came to *Pamphilia*, and having preached to the People at *Perga*, they went down to *Attalia*. And thus having at this time finished the whole circuit of their Ministry, they returned back to *Antioch* in *Syria*, the place whence they had first set out. Here they acquainted the Church with the various transactions and successes of their travels, and how great a door had hereby been opened to the conversion of the Gentile World.

8. WHILE S. Paul staid at *Antioch* there arose that famous controversy about the observation of the *Mosaic* Rites, set on foot and brought in by some Jewish Converts that came down thither, whereby great disturbances and distractions were made in the minds of the People. For the composing whereof the Church of *Antioch* resolved to send Paul and Barnabas to consult with the Apostles and Church at *Jerusalem*. In their way thither, they declared to the Brethren,

Acts 15. 1.

Brethren, as they went along, what success they had had in the conversion of the Gentiles. Being come to *Jerusalem*, they first addressed themselves to Peter, James and John, the pillars and principal persons in that place: By whom they were kindly entertained, and admitted to the right hand of fellowship. And perceiving by the account which S. Paul gave them, that the Gospel of the *uncircumcision* was committed to him, as that of the *circumcision* was to Peter; they ratified it by compact and agreement, that Peter should preach to the Jews, and Paul unto the Gentiles. Hereupon a Council was summoned, wherein Peter having declared his sense of things, Paul and Barnabas acquainted them what great things God by their Ministry had done among the Gentiles. A plain evidence, that though uncircumcised, they were accepted by God as well as the Jews with all their legal Rites and Privileges. The issue of the debate was, That the Gentiles were not under the obligation of the Law of Moses, and that therefore some persons of their own should be joined with Paul and Barnabas, to carry the Canons and Decrees of the Council down to *Antioch*, for their fuller satisfaction in this-matter. But of this affair we shall give the Reader a more distinct and particular account in another place.

SECT. III.

Of S. Paul, from the time of the Synod at *Jerusalem*, till his departure from *Athens*.

S. Paul's carrying the Apostolick Decree to *Antioch*. His contest with Peter, The dissention between him and Barnabas. His Travels to confirm the new-planted Churches. The conversion of Lydia at *Philippi*. The Jewish Proselytism, what; the frequency of them in all places. The dispossessing of a Pythonesse. S. Paul's imprisonment and ill usage at *Philippi*. The great provision made by the Roman Laws for the security of its Subjects. His preaching at *Thessalonica* and *Beroea*. His going to *Athens*. The fame of that place. His Doctrine opposed by the Stoicks and Epicureans, and why. The great Idolatry and Superstition of that City. The Altar to the Unknown God. This Unknown God, who. The Superstition of the Jews in concealing the Name of God. This imitated by the Gentiles. Their general Forms of Invoking their Deities noted. The particular occasion of these Altars at *Athens*. whence. S. Paul's discourse to the Philosophers in the *Areopagus* concerning the Divine Being and Providence. The different entertainment of his Doctrine. Dionysius the *Areopagite*, who. His Learning, Conversion, and being made Bishop of *Athens*. The difference between him and S. Denys of *Paris*. The Books published under his name.

1. SAINT Paul and his Companions having received the Decretal Epistle, returned back to *Antioch*; where they had not been long before Peter came thither to them. And according to the Decree of the Council freely and inoffensively conversed with the Gentiles: Till some of the Jews coming down thither from *Jerusalem*, he withdrew his converse, as if it were a thing unwarrantable and unlawful. By which means the minds of many were dissatisfied,

Acts 15. 36.

satisfied, and their Consciences very much enflamed. Whereat S. Paul being exceedingly troubled, publicly rebuked him for it, and that as the case required, with great sharpness and severity. It was not long after, that S. Paul and Barnabas relolved upon visiting the Churches, which they had lately planted among the *Gentiles*. To which end Barnabas determined to take his cousin Mark along with them. This, Paul would by no means agree to, he having deserted them in their former journey. A little spark, which yet kindled a great feud and disunion between these two good men, and arose to that height, that in some discontent they parted from each other. So natural is it for the best of men sometimes to indulge an unwarrantable passion, and so far to espouse the interest of a private and particular humour, as rather to hazard the great Law of Charity, and violate the bands of friendship, than to recede from it. The effect was, Barnabas taking his Nephew, went for Cyprus, his Native Country, S. Paul made choice of Silas, and the success of his undertaking being first recommended to the Divine care and goodness, they set forwards on their journey.

2. THEIR first passage was into Syria and Cilicia, confirming the Churches as they went along. And to that end they left with them Copies of the Synodical Decrees, lately ordained in the Council at Jerusalem. Hence we may suppose it was that he set sail for Crete, where he preached and propagated Christianity, and constituted Titus to be the first Bishop and Pastor of that Island, whom he left there, to settle and dispose those affairs, which the shortness of his own stay in those parts would not suffer him to do. Hence he returned back unto Cilicia, and came to Lystra, where he found Timothy, whose Father was a Greek, his Mother a Jewish convert, by whom he had been brought up under all the advantages of a pious and religious education, and especially an incomparable skill and dexterity in the holy Scriptures. S. Paul designed him for the companion of his travels, and a special instrument in the Ministry of the Gospel, and knowing that his being uncircumcised would be a mighty prejudice in the opinion and estimation of the Jews, caused him to be circumcised; being willing in lawfull and indifferent matters (such was Circumcision now become) to accommodate himself to mens humours and apprehensions for the saving of their Souls.

Acts 16. 6.

3. FROM hence with his company he passed through Phrygia, and the Country of Galatia, where he was entertained by them with as mighty a kindness and veneration, as if he had been an Angel immediately sent from Heaven. And being by Revelation forbidden to go into Asia, by a second Vision he was commanded to direct his journey for Macedonia. And here it was that S. Luke joined himself to his company, and became ever after his inseparable companion. Sailing from Troas, they arrived at the Island Samothracia, and thence to Neapolis, from whence they went to Philippi, the chief City of that part of Macedonia, and a Roman Colony: where he staid some considerable time to plant the Christian Faith, and where his Ministry had more particular success on Lydia, a Purple-seller, born at Thyatira, baptized together with her whole Family; and with her the Apostle sojourned during his residence in that place. A little without this City there was a

Profeucha, *Προφύτεια* as the Syriack renders it, an Oratory, or house of Prayer, whereto the Apostle and his company used frequently to retire, for the exercise of their Religion, and for preaching the Gospel to those that resorted thither. The Jews had three sorts of places for their publick worship: The Temple at Jerusalem, which was like the Cathedral, or Mother-Church, where all Sacrifices and Oblations were offered, and where all Males were

bound

bound three times a-year personally to pay their devotions: Their Synagogues (many whereof they had almost in every place, not unlike our Parochial Churches) where the Scriptures were read and expounded, and the People taught their duty. *Moses of old time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogue every Sabbath-day.* And then they had their *Profeuchae* (*πρὸς τὰς πόλεις προσευχόμενα*, as Philo sometimes calls them) or Oratories, which were like Chapels of Ease to the Temple and the Synagogues, whither the People were wont to come solemnly to offer up their Prayers to Heaven. They were built (as * Epiphanius informs us) *ἐξω τῆ πόλεως, ἐν ἀέρι καὶ αὐθιγῶ τῶν, without the City, in the open Air and uncovered, τῶν πλανῶν ὁρῶν θύων, προσδύχας ταῦτας ἐκάλων, being large spacious places, after the manner of Fora, or Market-places, and thence they called Profeucha's.* And that the Jews and Samaritans had such places of Devotion, he proves from this very place at Philippi, where S. Paul preached. For they had them not in Judaea onely, but even at Rome it self, where *Tiberius* (as * Philo tells Caius the Emperour) suffered the Jews to inhabit the *Transiberin Region*, and undisturbedly to live according to the Rites of their Institutions, καὶ προσδύχας ἔχειν, καὶ συνεῖναι εἰς αἰτίαι, καὶ μάλα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκδόμασι, ὅτε δηλοῖται ὅτι πατέριον τὰ αὐτὰ ἱεροῦσιν, and also to have their *Profeucha's*, and to meet in them, especially upon their holy Sabbaths, that they might be familiarly instructed in the Laws and Religion of their Country. Such they had also in other places, especially where they had not, or were not suffered to have Synagogues for their publick worship. But to return.

4. AS they were going to this Oratory, they were often followed by a *Pythoneß*, a Maid-servant, acted by a spirit of Divination, who openly cried out, *That these men were the servants of the most high God, who came to shew the way of Salvation to the World.* So easily can Heaven extort a Testimony from the mouth of Hell. But S. Paul, to shew how little he needed Satan to be his witness, commanded the *Dæmon* to come out, which immediately left her. The evil Spirit thus thrown out of possession, presently raised a storm against the Apostles; for the Masters of the Damsel, who used by her Diabolical Arts to raise great advantages to themselves, being sensible that now their gainfull Trade was spoild, resolved to be revenged on them that had spoiled it. Accordingly they laid hold upon them, and dragg'd them before the Seat of Judicature, insinuating to the Governours, that these men were Jews, and fought to introduce different customs and ways of worship, contrary to the Laws of the Roman Empire. The Magistrates and People were soon agreed, the one to give Sentence, the other to set upon the Execution. In fine, they were strip, beaten, and then commanded to be thrown into Prison: and the Gaolour charged to keep them with all possible care and strictness. Who to make sure of his charge, thrust them into the Inner Dungeon, and made their Feet fast in the Stocks. But a good Man can turn a Prison into a Chapel, and make a den of Thieves to be an house of Prayer. Our Feet cannot be bound so fast to the Earth, but that still our Hearts may mount up to Heaven. At midnight the Apostles were over-heard by their Fellow-prisoners, praying, and singing Hymns to God. But after the still voice came the Tempest. An Earthquake suddenly shook the foundations of the Prison, the Doors flew open, and their Chains fell off. The Gaolour awaking with this amazing accident, concluded with himself, that the Prisoners were fled, and to prevent the Sentence of publick Justice, was going to lay violent hands upon himself, which S. Paul espying, called out to him to hold his hand, and told him they were all there: Who thereupon came in to them

O

with

Acts 15. 21.

De vit. Mos.

lib. 3. p. 685

* Ado. Maffal.

Herc. LXXX.

p. 450.

In qua te quæro

Profeucha?

Juvenal. Satyr. 3.

v. 298.

[Profeucha] locut

Judeorum, ubi

man. Vet. Schol.

lib.

De Legat. ad

Caium, p. 1014:

Mittes si amphi-

tine custodias, ip-

si in periculum

deducatur. L. 12.

Et de custod. Et

exhib. rec. Tit. 3.

particular notice of one *Altar* inscrib'd *To the Unknown God*. The intire *Inscription*, whereof the Apostle quotes onely part of the last words, is thought to have been this.





To the Gods of Asia, Europe and Africa, to the Strange and UNKNOWN GOD. Saint * Hierome represents it in the same manner, only makes it *Gods* in the plural number, which becaufe, says he, *S. Paul* needed not, he only cited it in the singular. Which surely he affirms without any juſt ground and warrant : though it cannot be denied, but that *Heathen Writers* make frequent mention of the Altars of *Unknown Gods*, that were at *Athenz*, as there want not others who ſpeak of ſome erected there to an *Unknown God*. This Notion the *Athenians* might probably borrow from the *Hebrews*, who had the Name of *God* in great ſecrecy and veneration. This being one of the *Titles* given him by the Prophet *Jehoiada* *the hidden God, or a God that hides himſelf*. Sure I am that *St Jufin Martyr* tells us, that one of the

* *Com. in Tit.*
cap. I. ad Paul.
& Eustoch.
p. 248. Tom. 9.

Mai 45. 15.
|| *Paræn. ad*
Græc. p. 37.

Ἐπὶ ὧν πολλῶν νομιζόντων ἴδιον παρ' Αἰ-
γυπτίοις ὄνομα τῇ Διδεῖ ἢ Αἰμῶν (ὃ Ἐφ' ἔργοντες
ἡμεῖς Ἀμμωνα λέγουμεν) Μαριδάς μὲν ὁ Σαβου-
ρίτης ἢ καρυμυλῶν οἶε, καὶ ἢ κρύψας ὑπὸ ταύ-
της διηλῆδεν ἡ φωνή. Plutarch. lib. de Isid. c. 7
Olsf. p. 354.

Altar   of the hidden God. The Jews

were infinitely superstitious in concealing the Name of God, not thinking it lawful ordinarily to pronounce it. This made the *Gentiles*, strangers at best both to the Language and Religion of the *Jews*, at a great loss by what Name to call him, only tlying him in general an *uncertain, unpeakable, invisible* Deity; whence * *Caligula* in his ranting Oration to the *Jews*, told them, that wretches as they were, though they refused to own him, whom all others had confessed to be a Deity, yet they could worship ἑαυτῶν θεῶν ἑμῶν, *their own nameless God*. And hence the *Gentiles* derived their custom of keeping secret the name of their Gods; Thus (a) *Plutarch* tells us of the *Tutelar Deity of Rome*, that it was not lawful to name it, or fo much as to enquire what Sex it was of, whether God or Goddess; and that for once revealing it, *Valerius Soranus*, though *Tribune* of the People, came to an untimely end, and was crucified, the vilest and most dishonourable kind of death. Whereof among other reasons he assigns this, that by concealing the Author of their publick safety, μὴ μόνον τῶντον, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τῶς θεῶς πιαῖσαι, not he only, but all the other Gods might have due honour and worship paid to them. Hence in their publick adorations, after the Invocation of particular Deities, they were wont to add some more general and comprehensive form, as when *Cicero* had been making his address to most of their particular Gods, he concludes with a * *Ceteros item Deos, Desique omnes imploro atque obsecro*. Usually the form was *DI I D E A E Q U E O M N E S*. The reason whereof was this, that not being assured many times what that peculiar Deity was, that was proper to their purpose, or what numbers of Gods there were in the World, they would not affront or offend any, by seeming to neglect and pass them by. And this || *Chrysolome*

Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 2. c. 2. Tiberil. Poll. in vit. Claud. c. 2.

Judeus mente fulta, unumque i
fatumque illud et æternum, ne
que viscerum. Tacitus. Hist.
p. 535.

* Phil. de legat. ad Cai. p. 1.

|| Verri. Acus. 7. p. 223.
vocationem, transfat ad generalitatem
nem preterea, more Pontificum p
in vestibus, post vestitus, et
sum facrum, quod fœbat, necesse e
raliter omnia numina invocantibus
Virgil. Georgic. lib. 1. Dique De

|| Homil. 38. in Act. p. 705.

thinks to have been particularly directed in the erection of this *Athenian Altar*, *ἡμῖσι καὶ ἀλλοῖς τις ἢ αὐτοῖς* there might be given *ἡμεῖς, ἡμετεράβωμεν* ὃ *ἄλλα* *ἄ*, they were afraid lest their Deity (besides those whom they particularly worshipped) as yet unknown to them, though honoured and adored elsewhere, and therefore *ἑορῆς πλεονεξίας, ἀσφαλείας*, for the more security, they dedicated an *Altar* to the unknown God. As for the particular occasion of erecting these *Altars* at Athens (omitting that of *Pan's* appearing to *Philipides*, mentioned by *Oecumenius*) the most probable seems to be this. When a great Plague raged at * *Athens*, and several means had been attempted for the removal of it, they were advised by *Epimenides* the Philosopher, to build an *Altar*, and dedicate it *κατὰ ἑσπερίαν* *δεῖξαι*, to the proper and peculiar Deity, to whom it did appertain, be he what he would. A course which proving successful, no doubt gave occasion to them by way of gratitude to erect more shrines to this unknown God. And accordingly *Laertius* who lived long after *S. Paul's* time, tells us that there were such *nameless Altars* (he means such as were not inscribed to any particular Deity) in and about *Athens* in his days, as Monuments of that eminent deliverance.

7. BUT whatever the particular cause might be, hence it was that *S. Paul* took occasion, to discourse of the true, but to them *unknown God*. For the Philosophers had before treated him with a great deal of scorn and derision.

— *dedita sacris Incerti Judæa Dei.*
 Lucan. *Pharsal. lib. 2. incertum Mosis numen.*
 Tribel. Poll. *in vit. Claud. c. 2. p. 800.*

Judæi mente solâ, unumque numen intelligunt; summum illud & æternum, neque mutabile, neque interitum. Tacit. Histor. lib. 5. c. 5.
p. 535.

* Phil. de legat. ad Cai. p. 1041.

(a) *Quaest. Rom.*
p. 279. *vid.*
Serv. ad illud
Virgil. Georgic.
lib. 1. Dii pa-
trii indigites,
dec.

* In Verr. Accus. 7. p. 223. Post specialem invocationem, transit ad generalitatem, ne quod nomen praterat, more Pontificum per quos ritu veteri in omnibus sacris, post speciales Deos, quos ad ipsum sacrum, quod fcebat, necesse erat invocari, generaliter omnia numina invocabatur. Serv. in illud Virgil. Georgic. lib. 1. Dique Deaque omnes.

|| *Homil.* 38. in Act. p. 705.

* Laert. lib. i.
in vit. Epimen.
p. 78.

SECT. IV.

Of S. Paul's Acts at Corinth and Ephesus.

S. Paul's arrival at Corinth. The opposition made by the Jews. The success of his Preaching upon others. His first Epistle to the Thessalonians, when written. His Arraignment before Gallio. The second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the design of it. S. Paul's voyage to Jerusalem. His coming to Ephesus. Disciples baptized into John's Baptism. S. Paul's preaching at Ephesus, and the Miracles wrought by him. Ephesus noted for the Study of Magick. Jews eminently versed in Charms and Incantments. The Original of the Mystery, whence pretended to have been derived. The ill attempt of the Sons of Sceva to dispossess Demons in the name of Christ. S. Paul's Doctrine greatly successful upon this sort of men. Books of Magick forbidden by the Roman Laws. S. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, why, and when written. Diana's Temple at Ephesus, and its great stateliness and magnificence. The mutiny against S. Paul raised by Demetrius, and his Party. S. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, upon what occasion written. His Epistle to Titus. Apollonius Tyanæus, whether at Ephesus at the same time with S. Paul. His Miracles pretended to be done in that City.

1. AFTER his departure from Athens, he went to Corinth, the Metropolis of Greece, and the residence of the Proconsul of Achaia: where he found Aquila and Priscilla lately come from Italy, banished out of Rome by the Decree of Claudius: And they being of the same trade and profession, wherein he had been educated in his youth, he wrought together with them, lest he should be unnecessarily burthenome unto any, which for the same reason he did in some other places. Hither, after some time, Silas and Timothy came to him. In the Synagogue he frequently disputed with the Jews and Profelytes, reasoning and proving, that Jesus was the true Messiah. They, according to the nature of the men, made head and opposed him, and what they could not conquer by argument and force of reason, they endeavoured to carry by noise and clamour, mixed with blasphemies and revilings, the last refuges of an impotent and baffled Cause. Whereat to testify his resentment, he shook his Garments and told them, since he saw them resolved to pull down vengeance and destruction upon their own heads, he for his part was guiltless and innocent, and would henceforth address himself unto the Gentiles. Accordingly he left them, and went into the House of Justus, a religious Profelyte, where by his preaching and the many Miracles which he wrought, he converted great Numbers to the Faith. Amongst which were Crispus the Chief Ruler of the Synagogue, Gaius, and Stephanus, who together with their Families embraced the Doctrine of the Gospel, and were baptized into the Christian Faith. But the constant returns of malice and ingratitude are enough to tire the largest charity, and cool the most generous resolution: therefore that the Apostle might not be discouraged by the restless attempts and machinations of his enemies, our Lord appeared to him in a Vision, told him that notwithstanding the bad success he had hitherto met with, there was a great Harvest to be gathered in that place, that he should not be afraid of his enemies, but go on to preach

confi-

confidently and securely, for that he himself would stand by him and preserve him.

2. ABOUT this time, as is most probable, he wrote this first Epistle to the Thessalonians, Silas and Timothy being lately returned from thence, and having done the message for which he had sent them thither. The main design of the Epistle, is to confirm them in the belief of the Christian Religion, and that they would persevere in it, notwithstanding all the afflictions and persecutions, which he had told them would ensue upon their profession of the Gospel, and to instruct them in the main duties of a Christian and Religious life. While the Apostle was thus employed, the malice of the Jews was no less at work against him, and universally combining together, they brought him before Gallio the Proconsul of the Province, elder Brother to the famous Seneca: Before him they accused the Apostle as an Innovator in Religion, that sought to introduce a new way of worship, contrary to what was established by the Jewish Law, and permitted by the Roman Powers. The Apostle was ready to have pleaded his own cause, but the Proconsul told them, that had it been a matter of right or wrong, that had fall'n under the cognizance of the Civil Judicature, it had been very fit and reasonable that he should have heard and determined the case, but since the controversy was only concerning the *punctilio's* and niceties of their Religion, it was very improper for him to be a Judge in such matters. And when they still clamoured about it, he threw out their Indictment, and commanded his Officers to drive them out of Court. Whereupon some of the Townsmen seized upon Sophenes, one of the Rulers of the Jewish Consistory, a man active and buse in this Infurrection, and beat him even before the Court of Judicature, the Proconsul not at all concerning himself about it. A year and an half S. Paul continued in this place, and before his departure thence, wrote his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, to supply the want of his coming to them, which in his former he had resolved on, and for which, in a manner, he had engaged his promise. In this therefore he endeavours again to confirm their minds in the truth of the Gospel, and that they would not be shaken with those troubles which the wicked unbelieving Jews would not cease to create them; a lost and undone race of men, and whom the Divine vengeance was ready finally to overtake. And because some passages in his former Letter, relating to this destruction, had been mis-understood, as if this day of the Lord were just then at hand, he rectifies those mistakes, and shews what must precede our Lord's coming unto Judgment.

3. S. PAUL having thus fully planted and cultivated the Church at Corinth, resolved now for Syria. And taking along with him Aquila and Priscilla, at Cenchrea, the Port and Harbour of Corinth, Aquila (for of him it is certainly to be understood) shaved his head, in performance of a Nazarene-Vow he had formerly made, the time whereof was now run out. In his passage into Syria he came to Ephesus, where he preached a while in the Synagogue of the Jews. And though desired to stay with them, yet having resolved to be at Jerusalem at the Passover (probably that he might have the fitter opportunity to meet his friends, and preach the Gospel to those vast numbers that usually flock'd to that great solemnity) he promised that in his return he would come again to them. Sailing thence, he landed at Caesarea, and thence went up to Jerusalem, where having visited the Church, and kept the Feast, he went down to Antioch. Here having staid some time, he traversed the Countries of Galatia, and Phrygia, confirming, as he went, the new-converted Christians, and so came to Ephesus, where, finding certain Christian Disciples, he enquired of them, whether, since their conver-

Acts 19. 1.

East, was renowned for the famous Temple of *Diana*, one of the stateliest Temples of the World. It was (as * *Pliny* tells us) the very wonder of magnificence, built at the common charges of all *Asia* properly called, 220 Years (elsewhere he says 400) in building, which we are to understand of its successive rebuildings and reparations, being often wasted and destroyed. It was 425 Foot long, 220 broad, supported by 127 Pillars, 60 Foot high; for its antiquity, it was in

some degree before the times of *Bacchus*, equal to the Reign of the *Amazons* (by whom it is generally said to have been first built) as the * *Ephesian* Embassadors told *Tiberius*, till by degrees it grew up into that greatness and splendour, that it was generally reckoned one of the seven wonders of the World. But that which gave the greatest fame and reputation to it, was an *Image* of *Diana* kept there, made of no very costly materials, but which the crafty Priests persuaded the People was beyond all humane artifice or contrivement, and that it was immediately formed by *Jupiter*, and *dropt down from Heaven*, having first killed, or banished the Artists that made it (as || *Suidas* informs us) that the cheat might not be discovered, by which means they drew out *Ephesus* only, but the whole World into a mighty veneration of it. Besides there were within this Temple multitudes of Silver images of it. Besides there were within this Temple multitudes of Silver Cabinets, or *Chappelts*, little *Shrines*, made in fashion of the Temple, wherein was placed the *Image* of *Diana*. For the making of these holy shrines, great numbers of Silvermiths were employed and maintained, among whom one *Demetrius* was a Leading man, who foreseeing that if the Christian Religion still got ground, their gainfull Trade would soon come to nothing, presently called together the men of his Profession, especially those whom he himself set on work, told them, that now their welfare and livelihood were concerned, and that the fortunes of their Wives and Children lay at stake, that it was plain that this *Paul* had perverted City and Country, and persuaded the People that the *Images* which they made and worshipped, were no real Gods; by which means their Trade was not one-ly like to fall to the ground, but also the honour and magnificence of the great Goddess *Diana*, whom not *Asia* only, but the whole World did worship and adore. Enraged with this discourse, they cried out with one voice, that *Great* was *Diana* of the *Ephesians*. The whole City was presently in an uproar, and seizing upon two of *S. Paul's* Companions, hurried them into the Theatre, probably with a design to have cast them to the wild Beasts. *S. Paul* hearing of their danger, would have ventured himself among them, had not the Christians, nay, some even of the *Gentile* Priests, Governours of the popular Games and Sports, earnestly dissuaded him from it; well knowing that the People were resolved, if they could meet with him, to throw him to the wild Beasts, that were kept there for the sport and pleasure of the People. And this doubtless he means, when elsewhere he tells us, that he fought with Beasts at *Ephesus*, probably intending what the People designed, though he did not actually suffer; though the brutish rage, the savage and inhumane manners of this People did sufficiently deserve that the censure and character should be fixed upon themselves.

8. GREAT was the confusion of the Multitude, the major part not knowing the reason of the Concourse. In which distraction *Alexander*, a Jewish Convert, being thrust forward by the Jews, to be questioned and examined about this matter, he would accordingly have made his *Apologie* to the People, intending no doubt to clear himself by casting the whole blame

upon

upon *S. Paul*; This being very probably that *Alexander* the Copper-smith, of whom our Apostle elsewhere complains, *That he did him much evil, and greatly withstood his words, and whom he delivered over unto Satan for his Apostasy, for blaspheming Christ, and reproaching Christianity.* But the Multitude perceiving him to be a Jew, and thereby suspecting him to be one of *S. Paul's* Associates, began to raise an out-cry for near two Hours together, wherein nothing could be heard, but *Great* is *Diana* of the *Ephesians*. The noise being a little over, the Recorder, a discreet and prudent Man, came out and calmly told them, That it was sufficiently known to all the World, what a mighty honour and veneration the City of *Ephesus* had for the great Goddess *Diana*, and the famous *Image* which fell from Heaven, that therefore there needed not this stir to vindicate and assert it: That they had seized Persons, who were not guilty either of *Sacrilege* or *Blasphemy* towards their Goddess; that if *Demetrius* and his Company had any just charge against them, the Courts were fitting, and they might prefer their Indictment: or if the Controversie were about any other matter, it might be referred to such a proper Judicature as the Law appoints for the determination of such cases: That therefore they should do well to be quiet, having done more already than they could answer, if called in question, (as 'tis like they would) there being no cause sufficient to justify that day's riotous Assembly. With which prudent discourse he appeased and dismissed the Multitude.

9. IT was about this time that *S. Paul* heard of some disturbance in the Church at *Corinth*, hatched and fomented by a pack of false heretical Teachers, crept in among them, who endeavoured to draw them into Parties and Factions, by persuading one Party to be for *Peter*, another for *Paul*, a third for *Apollos*, as if the main of Religion consisted in being of this or that Denomination, or in a warm active zeal to decry and oppose whoever is not of our narrow Sect. 'Tis a very weak and slender claim, when a Man holds his Religion by no better a title than that he has joyed himself to this Man's Church, or that Man's Congregation, and is zealously earnest to maintain and promote it, to be childishly and passionately clamorous for one Man's mode and way of administration, or for some particular humour or opinion, as if Religion lay in nice and curious disputes, or in separating from our Brethren, and not rather in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. By this means Schisms and Factions broke into the *Corinthian* Church, whereby many wild and extravagant Opinions, and some of them such as undermined the fundamental Articles of Christianity, were planted, and had taken root there. As the envious man never fishes more successfully than in troubled Waters. To cure these distempers *S. Paul* (who had received an account of all these by Letters which *Apollos*, and some others had brought to him from the Church of *Corinth*) writes his first Epistle to them. Wherein he smartly reproves them for their Schisms and Parties, conjures them to peace and unity, corrects those gross corruptions that were introduced among them, and particularly resolves those many cases and controversies, wherein they had requested his advice and counsel. Shortly after *Apollos* designing to go for *Crete*, by him and *Zenas* *S. Paul* sends his Epistle to *Titus*, whom he had made Bishop of that Island, and had left there for the propagating of the Gospel. Herein he fully instructs him in the execution of his Office, how to carry himself, and what directions he should give to others, to all particular ranks and relations of men, especially those who were to be advanced to places of Office and Authority in the Church.

10. A

* H. Natur. lib. 36. c. 14. p. 716.
|| Lib. 16. c. 40. p. 339.

Σει δὲ Ἀποκρίσεις.
Ἐπειὶ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἰδὲν ἔχοντα.
ὅτι δὲ τὸν ἀποστόλου δὲ τὸν
ὅτι δὲ ἀποστόλου ἰδὲν καὶ τὸν ἀποστόλου
Καλλὶν. in Dian. Hymn. 2. p. 32.
Ἐπειὶ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἰδὲν καὶ τὸν ἀποστόλου
v. 829.

* Tacit. Annal.
lib. 3. cap. 61.
p. 117.

|| Suid. in voc.
Δαμνίσκος.

10. A LITTLE before S. Paul's departure from *Ephesus*, we may not improbably suppose, that *Apollonius Tyanæus*, the famous Philosopher and Magician of the Heathen World (a Man remarkable for the strictness of his manners, and his sober and regular course of life, but especially for the great Miracles said to have been done by him; whom therefore the Heathens generally set up as the great Corridor of our Saviour; though some of his own party, and particularly **Enphratus* the Philosopher, who lived with him at the same time at *Rome*, accused him for doing his strange feats by *Magick*) came to *Ephesus*. The enemy of mankind probably designing to obstruct the propagation of Christianity, by setting up one who by the Arts of *Magick* might, at least in the Vogue and estimation of the People, equal, or eclipse the Miracles of S. Paul. Certain it is, if we compare times and actions set down by the || Writer of his Life, we shall find that he came hither about the beginning of *Nero's* Reign, and he particularly sets down the strange things that were done by him, especially his clearing the City of a grievous Plague, for which the People of *Ephesus* had him in such veneration, that they erected a *Statue* to him as to a particular Deity, and did divine honour to it. But whether this was before S. Paul's going thence, I will not take upon me to determine; it seems most probable to have been done afterwards.

* Euseb. lib. 4. contra Hierocl. p. 530. ad calc. Demosthr. Evang.

Philost. de vit. Apoll. Tyan. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 159. Et c. 12. p. 194. confer. lib. 5.

Ibid. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 164. vid. Euseb. in Hierocl. lib. 4. apud Theod. p. 457.

SECT. V.

S. Paul's Acts, from his departure from *Ephesus*, till his Arraignment before *Felix*.

S. Paul's journey into Macedonia. His preaching as far as Illyricum, and return into Greece. His second Epistle to the Corinthians, and what the design of it. His first Epistle to Timothy. His Epistle to the Romans, whence written, and with what design. S. Paul's preaching at Troas, and raising Eutychus. His summoning the Asian Bishops to Myletus, and pathetic discourse to them. His stay at Cæsarea with Philip the Deacon. The Churches passionate dissuading him from going to Jerusalem. His coming to Jerusalem, and compliance with the indifferent Rites of the Jewish Law, and why. The tumults raised against him by the Jews, and his rescue by the Roman Captain. His asserting his Roman freedom. His carriage before the Sanhedrim. The difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees about him. The Jews conspiracy against his life discovered. His being sent unto Cæsarea.

1. IT was not long after the tumult at *Ephesus*, when S. Paul having called the Church together, and constituted Timothy Bishop of that place, took his leave, and departed by *Troas* for *Macedonia*. And at this time it was, that, as he himself tells us, he preached the Gospel round about unto *Illyricum*, since called *Sclavonia*, some parts of *Macedonia* bordering on that Province. From *Macedonia* he returned back unto *Greece*, where he abode three months, and met with *Titus*, lately come with great contributions from the Church at *Corinth*. By whose example he stirr'd up the liberality of

of the *Macedonians*, who very freely, and somewhat beyond their ability contributed to the poor Christians at *Jerusalem*. From *Titus* he had an account of the present state of the Church at *Corinth*; and by him at his return, together with S. Luke, he sent his second Epistle to them. Wherein he endeavours to set right what his former Epistle had not yet effected, to vindicate his Apostleship, from that contempt and scorn, and himself from those slanders and aspersions, which the seducers, who had found themselves laßt by his first Epistle, had cast upon him, together with some other particular cases relating to them. Much about the same time he writ his first Epistle to *Timothy*, whom he had left at *Ephesus*, wherein at large he counsels him, how to carry himself in the discharge of that great place and authority in the Church, which he had committed to him; instructs him in the particular qualifications of those whom he should make choice of, to be Bishops and Ministers in the Church. How to order the *Deaconesses*, and to instruct Servants, warning him withall of that pestilent generation of heretics and seducers, that would arise in the Church. During his three months stay in *Greece*, he went to *Corinth*, whence he wrote his famous Epistle to the *Romans*, which he sent by *Phæbe*, a *Deaconess* of the Church of *Cenchrea*, nigh *Corinth*: wherein his main design is fully to state and determine the great controversy between the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, about the obligation of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jewish Law, and those main and material Doctrines of Christianity, which did depend upon it, such as of Christian liberty, the use of indifferent things, &c. And which is the main end of all Religion, instructs them in, and presses them to the duties of an holy and good life, such as the Christian Doctrine does naturally tend to oblige men to.

2. S. PAUL being now resolved for *Syria*, to convey the contributions to the Brethren at *Jerusalem*, was a while diverted from that resolution, by a design he was told of which the *Jews* had to kill and rob him by the way. Whereupon he went back into *Macedonia*, and so came to *Philippi*, and thence went to *Troas*, where having staid a week, on the *Lords-day* the Church met together to receive the holy Sacrament. Here S. Paul preached to them, and continued his discourse till mid-night, the longer probably, being the next day to depart from them. The length of his discourse, and the time of the night had caused some of his Auditors to be overtaken with sleep and drowziness, among whom a young man called *Eutychus* being fast asleep, fell down from the third story, and was taken up dead, but whom S. Paul presently restored to life and health. How indefatigable was the industry of our Apostle! how close did he tread in his Master's steps, who went about doing good! He compassed Sea and Land, preached and wrought miracles where-ever he came. In every place like a wise Master-builder, he either laid a foundation, or raised the superstructure. He was instant in season and out of season, and spared not his pains, either night or day, that he might do good to the Souls of men. The night being thus spent in holy exercises, S. Paul in the morning took his leave, and went on foot to *Assos*, a Sea-port Town, whither he had sent his company by Sea. Thence they set sail to *Mytilene*; from thence to *Samos*, and having staid some little time at *Trogyllum*, the next day came to *Myletus*, not so much as putting in at *Ephesus*, because the Apostle was resolved, if possible, to be at *Jerusalem* at the Feast of *Pentecost*.

3. AT *Myletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, to summon the Bishops and Governors of the Church, who being come, he put them in mind with what uprightness and integrity, with what affection and humility, with how great

great trouble and danger, with how much faithfulness to their Souls he had been conversant among them, and had preached the Gospel to them, ever since his first coming into those parts: That he had not failed to acquaint them both publicly and privately with whatever might be usefull and profitable to them, urging both upon *Jews* and *Gentiles* repentance and reformation of life, and an hearty entertainment of the Faith of *Christ*: That now he was resolved to go to *Jerusalem*, where he did not know what particular sufferings would befall him, more than this, That it had been foretold him in every place by those who were endued with the Prophetical gifts of the Holy Ghost, that afflictions and imprisonment would attend him there: But that he was not troubled at this, no nor unwilling to lay down his life, so he might but successfully preach the Gospel, and faithfully serve his Lord in that place and station wherein he had set him: That he knew that henceforth they should see his face no more, but that this was his encouragement and satisfaction, that they themselves could bear him witness, that he had not by concealing from them any parts of the Christian Doctrine, betray'd their Souls: That as for themselves, whom God had made Bishops and Pastours of his Church, they should be careful to feed, guide and direct those Christians under their inspection, and be infinitely tender of the good of Souls, for whose redemption *Christ* laid down his own life: That all the care they could use was no more than necessary, it being certain, that after his departure, Heretical Teachers would break in among them, and endanger the ruine of mens Souls; nay, that even among themselves, there would some arise, who by subtle and crafty methods, by corrupt and pernicious Doctrines would gain Profelytes to their Party, and thereby make Rents and Schisms in the Church: That therefore they should watch, remembring with what tears and sorrow, he had for three years together warned them of these things: That now he recommended them to the Divine care and goodness, and to the rules and instructions of the Gospel, which if adhered to, would certainly dispose and perfect them for that state of happiness, which God had prepared for good men in Heaven. In short, that he had all a-long dealt faithfully and uprightly with them, they might know from hence, that in all his preaching he had no crafty or covetous designs upon any man's Estate or Riches, having (as themselves could witness) industriously laboured with his own hands, and by his own work maintained both himself and his company: Herein leaving them an example, what pains they ought to take to support the weak, and relieve the poor, rather than to be themselves chargeable unto others: according to that incomparable saying of our Saviour (which surely *S. Paul* had received from some of those that had converted with him in the days of his flesh) *It is more blessed to give, than to receive.* This *Concio ad Clerum*, or *Visitation-Sermon* being ended, the Apostle kneeled down, and concluded all with Prayer. Which done they all melted into tears, and with the greatest expressions of sorrow attended him to the Ship, though that which made the deepest impression upon their minds was, that he had told them, *That they should see his face no more.*

Acts 20. 1.

4. DEPARTING from *Miletus*, they arrived at *Coos*, thence came to *Rhodes*, thence to *Patara*, thence to *Tyre*; where meeting with some Christians, he was advised by those among them, who had the gift of Prophecy, that he should not go up to *Jerusalem*: with them he staid a week, and then going all together to the shore, he kneeled down and prayed with them, and having mutually embraced one another, he went on board, and came to *Ptolemais*, where only saluting the Brethren, they came next day unto *Cæsarea*. Here they lodged in the house of *Philip the Evangelist*, one of the seven *Deacons*

cons that were at first set apart by the Apostles, who had four Virgin-daughters, all endued with the gift of Prophecy. During their stay in this place, *Agabus* a Christian Prophet came down hither, from *Judea*, who taking *Paul's* girdle, bound with it his own hands and feet, telling them, that by this external Symbol the Holy Ghost did signifie and declare, that *S. Paul* should be thus serv'd by the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, and be by them delivered over into the hands of the *Gentiles*. Whereupon they all passionately besought him, that he would divert his course to some other place. The Apostle ask'd them, what they meant, by these compassionate dissuaves to add more affliction to his sorrow? that he was willing and resolved not only to be imprisoned, but, if need were, to die at *Jerusalem* for the sake of *Christ* and his Religion. Finding his resolution fixed and immoveable, they importuned him no farther, but left the event to the Divine will and pleasure. All things being in readiness, they set forwards on their journey, and being come to *Jerusalem*, were kindly and joyfully entertained by the Christians there.

5. THE next Day after their arrival, *S. Paul* and his company went to Acts 21. 18. the house of *St. James* the Apostle, where the rest of the Bishops and Governors of the Church were met together; after mutual salutations, he gave them a particular account with what success God had blessed him in propagating Christianity among the *Gentiles*, for which they all heartily blessed God, but withall told him, that he was now come to a place, where there were many thousands of *Jewish* Converts, who all retained a mighty zeal and veneration for the Law of *Moses*, and who had been informed of him, that he taught the *Jews*, whom he had converted, in every place, to renounce Circumcision, and the Ceremonies of the Law: That as soon as the multitude heard of his arrival, they would come together to see how he behaved himself in this matter; and therefore to prevent so much disturbance, it was advisable, that there being four Men there at that time, who were to accomplish a Vow (probably not the *Nazarite-vow*, but some other, which they had made for deliverance from sickness, or some other eminent danger and distress; for so * *Josephus* tells us, they were wont to doe in such cases, and before they came to offer the accustomed Sacrifices, to abstain for some time from Wine, and to shave their heads) he would join himself to them, perform the usual Rites and Ceremonies with them, and provide such Sacrifices for them, as the Law required in that case, and that in discharge of their Vow, they might shave their heads. Whereby it would appear, that the reports which were spread concerning him were false and groundless, and that he himself did still observe the Rites and Orders of the *Mosaicall* Institution: That as for the *Gentile* Converts, they required no such observances at their hands, nor expected any thing more from them in these indifferent matters, than what had been before determined by the *Apostolical Synod* in that place. *S. Paul* (who in such things was willing to become all things to all men, that he might gain the more) consented to the counsel which they gave him, and taking the persons along with him to the Temple, told the Priests, that the time of a Vow which they had made being now run out, and having purified themselves, as the nature of the case required, they were come to make their Offerings according to the Law.

* De Bell. Jud. lib. 2. c. 15.

6. THE seven days wherein those Sacrifices were to be offered being now almost ended, some *Jews* that were come from *Asia* (where probably, they had opposed *S. Paul*) now finding him in the Temple, began to raise a tumult and uproar, and laying hold of him, called out to the rest of the *Jews* for their assistance: Telling them, that this was the Fellow, that every-where vented Doctrines derogatory to the prerogative of the *Jewish* Nation; destructive

Q

Holy Spirit, and if so, then in opposing his Doctrine, they might fight against God himself.

9. GREAT were the dissensions in the Council about this matter, informed that the Governour fearing S. Paul would be torn in pieces, commanded the Souldiers to take him from the Bar, and return him back into the Castle. That night to comfort him after all his frights and fears, God was pleased to appear to him in a Vision, encouraging him to constancy and resolution, assuring him that as he had born witness to his cause at Jerusalem, so in despite of all his enemies he should live to bear his testimony even at Rome itself. The next Morning the Jews, who could as well cease to be, as to be mischievous and malicious, finding that these dilatory proceedings were not like to do the work, resolved upon a quicker dispatch. To which end above Forty of them entered into a wicked confederacy, which they ratified by Oath and Execration, never to eat or drink till they had killed him: and having acquainted the Sanhedrim with their design, they entreated them to importune the Governour, that he might again the next day be brought down before them, under pretence of a more strict trial of his case, and that they themselves would lie in ambush by the way, and not fail to dispatch him. But that Divine Providence that peculiarly superintends the safety of good Men, *disappoints the devices of the crafty*. The design was discovered to S. Paul by a Nephew of his, and by him imparted to the Governour, who immediately commanded two Parties of Foot and Horse, to be ready by Nine of the Clock that Night, and provision to be made for S. Paul's carriage to Felix the Roman Governour of that Province: To whom also he wrote, signifying whom he had sent, how the Jews had used him, and that his enemies also should appear before him to manage the charge and accusation. Accordingly he was by Night conducted to Antipatris, and afterwards to Caesarea, where the Letters being delivered to Felix, the Apostle was presented to him: and finding that he belonged to the Province of Cilicia, he told him, that as soon as his Accusers were arrived he should have an hearing, commanding him in the mean time to be secured in the place called Herod's Hall.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

Of S. Paul, from his first Trial before Felix, till his coming to Rome.

S. Paul impleaded before Felix by Tertullus the Jewish Advocate. His charge of Sedition, Heresie and Profanation of the Temple. S. Paul's reply to the several parts of the charge. His second Hearing before Felix and Drusilla. His smart and impartial Reasonings. Felix his great injustice and oppression: His Luxury and Intemperance, Bribery and Covetousness. Saint Paul's Arraignment before Festus, Felix his Successour, at Caesarea. His Appeal to Caesar. The nature and manner of those Appeals. He is again brought before Festus and Agrippa. His vindication of himself, and the goodness of his cause. His being acquitted by his Judges of any Capital crime. His Voyage to Rome. The trouble and danger of it. Their Shipwreck, and being cast upon the Island Melita. Their courteous entertainment by the Barbarians, and their different censure of S. Paul. The croil usage of the Governour, and his Conversion to Christianity. S. Paul met and conducted by Christians to Rome.

1. NOT many days after down comes Ananias the High-priest, with AAs 24. 1. some others of the Sanhedrim to Caesarea, accompanied with Tertullus their Advocate, who in a short but neat Speech, set off with all the flattering and insinuating arts of Eloquence, began to implead our Apostle, charging him with Sedition, Heresie, and the Profanation of the Temple: That they would have saved him the trouble of this Hearing, by judging him according to their own Law, had not Lyfias the Commander violently taken him from them, and sent both him and them down thither. To all which the Jews that were with him gave in their Vote and Testimony. Saint Paul having leave from Felix to defend himself, and having told him, how much he was satisfied that he was to plead before one, who for so many years had been Governour of that Nation, distinctly answered to the several parts of the Charge.

2. AND first for Sedition, he point-blank denied it, affirming that they found him behaving himself quietly and peaceably in the Temple, not so much as disputing there, nor stirring up the People either in the Synagogues, or any other place of the City. And though this was plausibly pretended by them, yet were they never able to make it good. As for the charge of Heresie, that he was a Ring-leader of the Sect of the Nazarenes, he ingenuously acknowledged, that after the way which they counted Heresie, to be worshipped God, the same way in substance wherein all the Patriarchs of the Jewish Nation had worshipped God before him, taking nothing into his Creed, but what the Authentick Writings of the Jews themselves did own and justify: That he firmly believed, what the better of themselves were ready to grant, another Life, and a future Resurrection: In the hope and expectation whereof he was careful to live unblameable, and conscientiously to do his duty both to God and Men. As for the third part of the Charge, his Profaning of the Temple, he shews how little foundation there was for it, that the design of his coming to Jerusalem was to bring charitable contributions to his distressed Brethren,

Brethren, that he was indeed in the Temple, but not as some *Asttick Jews* falsely suggested, either with tumult or with multitude, but only purifying himself according to the Rites and Customs of the *Mosaick Law*: And that if any would affirm the contrary, they should come now into open Court, and make it good. Nay, that he appealed to those of the *Sanhedrim* that were there present, whether he had not been acquitted by their own great Council at *Jerusalem*, where nothing of moment had been laid to his charge, except by them of the *Sadducean* party, who quarrelled with him only for asserting the Doctrine of the Resurrection. *Felix* having thus heard both Parties argue, refused to make any final determination in the case, till he had more fully advised about it, and spoken with *Lyfias*, Commander of the Garrison, who was best able to give an account of the Sedition and the Tumult; commanding in the mean time that *S. Paul* should be under guard, but yet in so free a custody, that none of his friends should be hindered from visiting him, or performing any office of kindness and friendship to him.

3. IT was not long after this before his Wife *Drusilla* (a *Jewess*, Daughter of the elder *Herod*, and whom *Tacitus*, I fear by a mistake for his former Wife *Drusilla*, Daughter to *Juba* King of *Mauritania*, makes Niece to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*) came to him to *Cæsarea*. Who being present, he sent for *S. Paul* to appear before them, and gave him leave to discourse concerning the Doctrine of Christianity. In his discourse he took occasion particularly to insist upon the great obligation, which the Laws of *Christ* lay upon Men to Justice and Righteousness toward one another, to Sobriety and Chastity both towards themselves and others, withall urging that severe and impartial account, that must be given in the Judgment of the other World, wherein Men shall be arraigned for all the actions of their past life, and be eternally punished or rewarded according to their works. A discourse wisely adapted by the Apostle to *Felix* his Rate and temper. But corrossives are very uneasy to a guilty mind: Men naturally hate that which brings their sins to their remembrance, and sharpens the sting of a violated Conscience. The Prince was so nettled with the Apostle's reasonings, that he fell a trembling, and caused the Apostle to break off abruptly, telling him, he would hear the rest at some other season. And good reason there was that *Felix* his Conscience should be sensibly alarmed with these reflexions, being a Man notoriously infamous for rapine and violence. * *Tacitus* tells us of him, that he made his Will the Law of his Government, practising all manner of cruelty and injustice. And then for Incontinency, he was given over to luxury and debauchery, for the compassing whereof he scrupled not to violate all Laws both of God and Man. Whereof this very Wife *Drusilla* was a famous instance. For being married by her Brother to *Azis* King of the *Emisenes*, *Felix*, who had heard of her incomparable beauty, by the help of *Simon* the Magician, a *Jew* of *Cyprus*, ravished her from her Husband's bed, and in defiance of all law and right, kept her for his own Wife. To these qualities he had added bribery and covetousness, and therefore frequently sent for *S. Paul* to discourse with him, expecting that he should have given him a considerable sum for his release; and the rather probably, because he had heard that *S. Paul* had lately brought up great sums of Money to *Jerusalem*. But finding no offers made, either by the Apostle or his Friends, he kept him prisoner for two years together, so long as himself continued *Procurator* of that Nation, when being displaced by *Nero*, he left *S. Paul* still in Prison, on purpose to gratify the *Jews*, and engage them to speak better of him after his departure from them.

* *Hist. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 538. vid. Annal. lib. 12. c. 54. p. 234.*

† *Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 20. c. 5. p. 693.*

4. TO him succeeded *Portius Festus* in the Procuratorship of the Province, at whose first coming to *Jerusalem*, the High-priest and *Sanhedrim* presently began to prefer to him an Indictment against *S. Paul*, desiring, that in order to his Trial, he might be sent for up from *Cæsarea*, designing under this pretence that some Assassins should lie in the way to murder him. *Festus* told them, that he himself was going shortly for *Cæsarea*, and that if they had any thing against *S. Paul*, they should come down thither and accuse him. Accordingly being come to *Cæsarea*, and sitting in open Judicature, the *Jews* began to renew the Charge which they had heretofore brought against *S. Paul*: Of all which he cleared himself, they not being able to make any proof against him. However *Festus*, being willing to oblige the *Jews* in the entrance upon his Government, asked him, whether he would go up and be tried before him at *Jerusalem*? The Apostle well understanding the consequences of that proposal, told him that he was a *Roman*, and therefore ought to be judged by their Laws, that he stood now at *Cæsar*'s own Judgment-seat (as indeed what was done by the Emperor's *Procurator* in any Province, the Law reckoned as done by the Emperor himself) and though he should submit to the *Jewish* Tribunal, yet he himself saw, that they had nothing which they could prove against him; that if he had done any thing which really deserved capital punishment, he was willing to undergo it; but if not, he ought not to be delivered over to his enemies, who were before-hand resolved to take away his life. However as the safest course, he solemnly made his appeal to the *Roman* Emperor, who should judge between them. Whereupon *Festus* advising with the *Jewish* *Sanhedrim*, received his appeal, and told him he should go to *Cæsar*. This way of appealing was frequent among the *Romans*, introduced to defend and secure the lives and fortunes of the populace from the unjust incroachments, and over rigorous severities of the Magistrates, whereby it was lawful in cases of oppression to appeal to the People for redress and rescue, a thing more than once and again settled by the Sanction of the *Valerian* Laws. These appeals were wont to be made in writing, by *Appellatory Libels* given in, wherein was contained an account of the Appellant, the person against whom, and from whose Sentence he did appeal. But where the case was done in open Court, it was enough for the Criminal verbally to declare, that he did appeal: In great and weighty cases appeals were made to the Prince himself, and that not only at *Rome*, but in the Provinces of the Empire, all *Proconsuls* and Governours of Provinces being strictly forbidden to execute, scourge, bind or put any badge of servility upon a Citizen, or any that had the privilege of a Citizen of *Rome*, who had made his appeal, or any ways to hinder him from going thither, to obtain justice at the hands of the Emperor, who had as much regard to the liberty of his Subjects (says the Law it self) as they could have of their good-will and obedience to him. And this was exactly *S. Paul*'s case, who knowing that he should have no fair and equitable dealing at the hands of the Governour, when once he came to be swayed by the *Jews*, his sworn and inveterate enemies, appealed from him to the Emperor, the reason why *Festus* durst not deny his demand, it being a privilege so often, & so plainly settled and confirmed by the *Roman* Laws.

5. SOME time after King *Agrippa*, who succeeded *Herod* in the Tetrarchate of *Galilee*, and his Sister *Bernice* came to *Cæsarea*, to make a visit to the new-come Governour. To him *Festus* gave an account of *S. Paul*, and the great stir and trouble that had been made about him, and how for his safety and vindication he had immediately appealed to *Cæsar*. *Agrippa* was very

* *L. 1. ff. de Off. f. Procur. Cæs. lib. 1. Tit. 19.*

† *Leg. 1. Sect. 4. ff. de appellat. lib. 49. Tit. 1. Leg. 2. c. 3. ibid.*

|| *Ibid. Leg. 25. c. 1. 7. ff. ad Leg. Jul. de vj public. lib. 48. Tit. 6.*

very desirous to see and hear him, and accordingly the next day the King and his Sister, accompanied with *Festus* the Governour, and other persons of Quality, came into the Court with a pompous and magnificent retinue, where the Prisoner was brought forth before him. *Festus* having acquainted the King and the Assembly, how much he had been solicited by the *Jews* both at *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem*, concerning the Prisoner at the Bar, that as a notorious Malefactor he might be put to death, but that having found him guilty of no capital crime, and the Prisoner himself having appealed to *Cæsar*, he was resolved to send him to *Rome*, but yet was willing to have his case again discussed before *Agrippa*, that so he might be furnished with some material instructions to send along with him, since it was very absurd to send a Prisoner, without signifying what crimes were charged upon him.

Acts 26. 1.

6. HEREUPON *Agrippa* told the Apostle, he had liberty to make his own defence. To whom, after silence made, he particularly addressed his speech; he tells him in the first place what a happiness he had, that he was to plead before one so exactly versed in all the rites and customs, the questions and the controversies of the *Jewish* Law, that the *Jews* themselves knew what had been the course and manner of his life, how he had been educated under the Instructions of the *Pharisees*, the strictest Sect of the whole *Jewish* Religion, and had been particularly disquieted and arraigned for what had been the constant belief of all their Fathers, what was sufficiently credible in itself, and plainly enough revealed in the Scripture, the Resurrection of the dead. He next gave him an account with what a bitter and implacable zeal he had formerly persecuted Christianity, told him the whole story and method of his conversion, and that in compliance with a particular Vision from Heaven, he had preached repentance and reformation of life first to the *Jews*, and then after to the *Gentiles*: That it was for no other things than these that the *Jews* apprehended him in the Temple, and designed to murder him; but being rescued and upheld by a Divine power, he continued in this testimony to this day, asserting nothing but what was perfectly agreeable to *Moses* and the Prophets, who had plainly foretold that the *Messiah* should both be put to death, and rise again, and by his Doctrine enlighten both the *Jewish* and the *Gentile* World. While he was thus discoursing *Festus* openly cried out, that he talked like a mad-man, that his over much study had put him besides himself. The Apostle calmly replied, he was far from being transported with idle and distracted humours, that he spoke nothing but what was most true and real in itself, and what very well became that grave sober Auditor. And then again, addressing himself to *Agrippa*, told him, that these things having been open and publick, he could not but be acquainted with them, that he was confident that he believed the Prophets, and must needs therefore know that those Prophecies were fulfilled in *Christ*. Hereat *Agrippa* replied, That he had in some degree persuaded him to embrace the Christian Faith. To which the Apostle returned, that he heartily prayed, that not only he, but the whole Auditor were, not only in some measure, but altogether, though not Prisoners, yet as much Christians as he himself was. This done, the King and the Governour, and the rest of the Council withdrew a-while, to confer privately about this matter. And finding by the accusations brought against him, that he was not guilty by the *Roman* Laws of any capital offence, no nor of any that deserved so much as imprisonment, *Agrippa* told *Festus*, that he might have been released, if he had not appealed unto *Cæsar*. For the Appeal being once made, the Judge had then no power either to absolve or condemn, the cause being intirely reserved to the cognizance of that Superiour, to whom the Criminal had appealed.

7. IT

7. IT was now finally resolved that *S. Paul* should be sent to *Rome*: in Acts 27. 1. order whereunto he was, with some other Prisoners of remark, committed to the charge of *Julius*, Commander of a Company belonging to the Legion of *Augustus*; accompanied in this voyage by *S. Luke*, *Ariflarchus*, *Trophimus*, and some others. In September, Ann. Chr. LVI. or as others, LVII. they went on board a Ship of *Adramyttium*, and sailed to *Sidon*, where the Captain civilly gave the Apostle leave to go a-shore to visit his Friends, and refresh himself: Hence to *Cyprus*, till they came to the *Fair-Havens*, a place near *Myra*, a City of *Lyfia*. Here, Winter growing on, and *S. Paul* foreseeing it would be a dangerous Voyage, persuaded them to put in, and winter. But the Captain preferring the judgment of the Master of the Ship, and especially because of the incommodioulness of the Harbour, resolved, if possible, to reach *Phanice*, a Port of *Crete*, and to winter there. But it was not long before they found themselves disappointed of their hopes: For the calm Southerly Gale that blew before, suddenly changed into a stormy and blustering North-East Wind, which so bore down all before it, that they were forced to let the Ship drive at the pleasure of the Wind; but as much as might be, to prevent splitting, or running a-ground, they threw out a great part of their Lading, and the Tackle of the Ship. Fourteen days they remained in this desperate and uncomfortable condition, neither Sun nor Stars appearing for a great part of the time; the Apostle putting them in mind how ill advised they were in not taking his counsel: Howbeit they should be of good cheer, for that that God whom he served and worshipped, had the last night purposely sent an Angel from Heaven, to let him know, that notwithstanding the present danger they were in, yet that he should be brought safe before *Nero*; that they should be shipwreck'd indeed, and cast upon an Island, but that for his sake God had spared all in the Ship, not one whereof should miscarry, and that he did not doubt, but that it would accordingly come to pass. On the Fourteenth night upon sounding they found themselves nigh some Coast; and therefore, to avoid Rocks, thought good to come to an Anchor, till the Morning might give them better information. In the mean time the Sea-men (who best understood the danger) were preparing to get into the Skiff, to save themselves: which *S. Paul* espying, told the Captain, that unless they all stayed in the Ship, none could be safe: whereupon the Souldiers cut the Ropes, and let the Skiff fall off into the Sea. Between this and Day-break the Apostle advised them to eat and refresh themselves, having all this time kept no ordinary and regular Meals, assuring them they should all escape. Himself first taking Bread, and having blessed God for it before them all, the rest followed his example, and cheerfully fell to their Meat: which done, they lightened the Ship of what remained, and endeavoured to put into a Creek, which they discovered not far off. But falling into a place where two Seas met, the fore part of the Ship ran a-ground, while the hinder part was beaten in pieces with the violence of the Waves. Awakened with the danger they were in, the Souldiers cried out to kill the Prisoners, to prevent their escape: which the Captain, desirous to save *S. Paul*, and probably in confidence of what he had told them, refused to do; commanding, that every one should shift for himself: the issue was, that part by swimming, part on planks, part on pieces of the broken Ship, they all, to the number of two hundred threescore and sixteen (the whole number in the Ship) got safe to shore.

8. THE Island upon which they were cast was *Melita* (now *Malta*) situate in the *Libyan* Sea, between *Syracuse* and *Africk*. Here they found civility among *Barbarians*, and the plain acknowledgments of a Divine ju-

R

Rite

stice written among the naked and untutored notions of Mens minds. The People treated them with great humanity, entertaining them with all necessary accommodations; but while S. Paul was throwing sticks upon the Fire, a Viper dislodged by the heat, came out of the Wood, and fastned on his Hand. This the People no sooner espied, but presently concluded, that surely he was some notorious Murtherer, whom though the Divine vengeance had suffered to escape the Hue-and-Cry of the Sea, yet had it only reserved him for a more publick and solemn execution. But when they saw him shake it off into the Fire, and not presently swell, and drop down, they changed their opinions, and concluded him to be some God. So easily are light and credulous minds transported from one extreme to another. Not far off lived *Publius*, a Man of great Estate and Authority, and (as we may probably guefs from an Inscription found there, and set down by *Grotius*, wherein the ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ is reckoned amongst the Roman Officers) Governour of the Island, by him they were courteously entertained three days at his own charge, and his Father lying at that time sick of a Fever and a Dyfentery, S. Paul went in, and having prayed, and laid his hands upon him, healed him; as he did also many of the Inhabitants, who by this Miracle were encouraged to bring their diseased to him: whereby great honours were heaped upon him, and both he and his company furnished with provisions necessary for the rest of their Voyage. Nay *Publius* himself is said by * some to have been hereby converted to the Faith, and by S. Paul to have been constituted Bishop of the Island, and that this was he that succeeded S. *Dionys* the *Areopagite* in the See of *Athens*, and was afterwards crowned with Martyrdom.

* Bar. ad Ann.
LXIII. n. 173.
vid. Adon. mar.
tyr. ad xiii. Kal.
Febr. Martyr.
Rom. ad dilem.
21. Jan. Euseb.
l. 4. c. 23. p. 143.

9. AFTER three months stay in this Island, they went aboard the *Caesar* and *Pollux*, a Ship of *Alexandria*, bound for *Italy*. At *Syracuse* they put in, and stayed three days; thence sailed to *Rhegium*, and so to *Puteoli*, where they landed, and finding some Christians there, staid a week with them, and then set forward in their Journey to *Rome*. The Christians at *Rome* having heard of their arrival, several of them came part of the way to meet them, some as far as the *Three Taverns*, a place thirty three miles from *Rome*, others as far as *Apia Forum*, fifty one miles distant thence. Great was their mutual salutation, and the encouragement which the Apostles received by it, glad no doubt to see that Christians found so much liberty at *Rome*. By them he was conducted in a kind of triumph into the City, where when they were arrived, the rest of the Prisoners were delivered over to the Captain of the Guard, and by him disposed in the common Gaol, while S. Paul (probably at *Julius* his request and recommendation) was permitted to stay in a private Houfe, onely with a Souldier to secure and guard him.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

S. Paul's Ads, from his coming to *Rome*, till his Martyrdom.

S. Paul's summoning the chief of the Jews at *Rome*, and his discourse to them. Their refractariness and infidelity. His first hearing before *Nero*. The success of his Preaching. *Poppaea Sabina*, *Nero's Concubine*, one of his Converts. *Tacitus* his character of her. *Onesimus* converted by S. Paul at *Rome*, and sent back with an Epistle to *Philemon* his Master. The great obligation which Christianity lays upon Servants to diligence and fidelity in their duty. The rigorous and arbitrary power of Masters over Servants by the Roman Laws. This mitigated by the Laws of the Gospel. S. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, upon what occasion sent. His Epistle to the Ephesians, and another to the Colossians. His second Epistle to *Timothy* written (probably) at his first being at *Rome*. The Epistle to the Hebrews by whom written; and in what Language. The aim and design of it. S. Paul's Preaching the Gospel in the West, and in what parts of it. His return to *Rome*, when. His imprisonment under *Nero*, and why. His being beheaded. Milk instead of blood said to flow from his body. Different Accounts of the time of his suffering. His burial where, and the great Church erected to his memory.

1. THE first thing S. Paul did after he came to *Rome*, was to summon the Heads of the Jewish Consistory there, whom he acquainted with the cause and manner of his coming, that though he had been guilty of no violation of the Law of their Religion, yet had he been delivered by the Jews into the hands of the Roman Governours, who would have acquitted him once and again as innocent of any capital offence, but by the perverseness of the Jews he was forced, not with an intention to charge his own Nation, (already sufficiently odious to the Romans) but only to vindicate and clear himself, to make his Appeal to *Cæsar*; that being come, he had sent for them, to let them know, that it was for his constant altering the *Resurrection*, the hope of all true Israelites, that he was bound with that Chain which they saw upon him. The Jews replied, that they had received no advice concerning him, nor had any of the Nation that came from *Judea*, brought any Charge against him: onely for the Religion which he had espoused, they desired to be a little better informed about it, it being every where derided both by Jew and Gentile. Accordingly upon a day appointed he discoursed to them from morning to night concerning the Religion and Doctrine of the Holy Jesus, proving from the promises and predictions of the Old Testament, that he was the true *Messiah*. His discourse succeeded not with all alike, some being convinced, others persisted in their infidelity: And as they were departing in some discontent at each other, the Apostle told them, it was now too plain, God had accomplished upon them the Propheticall curse, of being left to their own wilfull hardness and impenitency, to be blind at noon-day, and to run themselves against all means and methods into irrecoverable ruine: That since the case was thus with them, they must expect, that henceforth he should turn his Preaching to the Gentiles, who would be most ready to entertain, what they had so scornfully rejected, the glad tidings of the Gospel.

2. IT was not, probably, long after this, that he was brought to his first hearing before the Emperour, where those friends, whom he most expected should stand by him, plainly deserted him, afraid it seems of appearing in so ticklish a cause before so unreasonable a Judge, who governed himself by no other measures, than the brutish and extravagant pleasure of his lust or humour. But God stood by him, and encouraged him; as indeed Divine consolations are many times then nearest to us, when humane assistances are farthest from us. This cowardice of theirs the Apostle had a charity large enough to cover, heartily praying, that it might not be brought in against them in the Accounts of the great Day. Two Years he dwelt at Rome in an House which he hired for his own use, wherein he constantly employed himself in preaching and writing for the good of the Church. He preached daily, without interruption, to all that came to him, and with good success, yea, even upon some of the better rank and quality, and those belonging to the Court it self. Among which the Roman * Martyrologie reckons *Torpes*, an Officer of prime note in Nero's Palace, and afterwards a Martyr for the Faith; and *Chrysothome* (if || *Baronius* cite him right) tells us of Nero's *Cup-bearer*, and one of his Concubines, supped by some to have been *Poppæa Sabina*, of whom * *Tacitus* gives this character, that she wanted nothing to render her one of the most accomplished Ladies in the World, but a chaunt and a virtuous mind: And I know not how far it may seem to counter-nance her conversion, at least inclination to a better Religion than that of Paganism, that || *Josephus* styles her a pious Woman, and tells us that she effectually solicited the cause of the Jews with her Husband Nero; and what favours *Josephus* himself received from her at Rome, he relates in his own life.

3. AMONGST others of our Apostle's Converts at Rome was *Onesimus*, who had formerly been servant to *Philemon*, a person of eminency in *Colosse*; but had run away from his Master, and taken things of some value with him. Having rambled as far as Rome, he was now converted by S. Paul, and by him returned with recommendatory Letters to *Philemon* his Master, to beg his pardon, and that he might be received into favour, being now of a much better temper, more faithfull and diligent, and usefull to his Master than he had been before: As indeed Christianity where 'tis heartily entertained, makes men good in all relations, no Laws being so wisely contrived for the peace and happiness of the World, as the Laws of the Gospel, as may appear by this particular case of servants; what admirable rules, what severe Laws does it lay upon them for the discharge of their duties! it commands them to honour their Masters as their Superiours, and to take heed of making their authority light and cheap by familiar and contemptible thoughts and carriages, to obey them in all honest and lawfull things; and that not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart as unto God; that they be faithfull to the trust committed to them, and manage their Masters interest with as much care and conscience as if it were their own; that they entertain their reproofs, counsels, corrections with all silence and sobriety, not returning any rude surly answers; and this carriage to be observed, not only to Masters of a mild and gentle, but of a cross and peevish disposition, that whatever they do, they do it heartily, not as to men only, but to the Lord; knowing that of the Lord they shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for that they serve the Lord Christ. Imbued with these excellent principles, *Onesimus* is again returned unto his Master; for Christian Religion, though it improve mens tempers, does not cancell their relations; it teaches them to abide in their callings, and not to despise their Masters, because they are Brethren,

Brethren, but rather doe them service, because they are faithfull. And being thus improved S. Paul the more confidently begg'd his pardon. And indeed had not *Philemon* been a Christian, and by the principles of his Religion both disposed and obliged to mildness and mercy, there had been great reason why S. Paul should be thus importunate with him for *Onesimus* his pardon, the case of servants in those days being very hard, for all Masters were looked upon as having an unlimited power over their Servants, and that not only by the * Roman, but by the Laws of all Nations, whereby without asking the Magistrate's leave, or any publick and formal trial, they might adjudge and condemn them to what work or punishment they pleased, even to the taking away of life it self. But the severity and exorbitancy of this power was afterwards somewhat curb'd by the Laws of succeeding Emperours, especially after the Empire submitted it self to Christianity, which makes better provision for persons in that capacity and relation, and in case of unjust and over-rigorous usage, enables them to appeal to a more righteous and impartial Tribunal, where Master and Servant shall both stand upon even ground, where he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons.

4. THE Christians at *Philippi* having heard of S. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, and not knowing what straits he might be reduced to, raised a contribution for him, and sent it by *Epaphroditus* their Bishop, who was now come to Rome, where he shortly after fell dangerously sick: But being recovered, and upon the point to return, by him S. Paul sent his Epistle to the *Philippians*, wherein he gives them some account of the state of affairs at Rome, gratefully acknowledges their kindness to him, and warns them of those dangerous opinions, which the Judaizing Teachers began to vent among them. The Apostle had heretofore for some Years liv'd at *Ephesus* and perfectly understood the state and condition of that place; and therefore now by *Tychicus* writes his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, endeavouring to counter-mine the principles and practices both of Jews and Gentiles, to confirm them in the belief and obedience of the Christian doctrine, to represent the infinite riches of the Divine goodness in admitting the *Gentile*-World to the unsearchable Treasures of Christianity, especially pressing them to express the life and spirit of it in the general duties of Religion, and in the duties of their particular relations. Much about the same time, or a little after, he wrote his Epistle to the *Colossians*, where he had never been, and sent it by *Epaphras*, who for some time had been his fellow-prisoner at Rome. The design of it is for the greatest part the same with that to the *Ephesians*, to settle and confirm them in the Faith of the Gospel, against the errors both of *Judaism*, and the superstitious observances of the Heathen World, some whereof had taken root amongst them.

5. IT is not improbable but that about this, or rather some considerable time before, S. Paul wrote his second Epistle to *Timothy*. I know *Eusebius*, and the Ancients, and most Moderns after them, will have it written a little before his Martyrdom, induced thereunto by that passage in it, that he was then ready to be offered, and that the time of his departure was at hand. But surely its most reasonable to think, that it was written at his first being at Rome, and that at his first coming thither, presently after his Trial before Nero. Accordingly the passage before mentioned may import no more, than that he was in imminent danger of his life, and had received the sentence of death in himself, not hoping to escape out of the paws of Nero: But that God had delivered him out of the mouth of the Lion, i. e. the great danger he was in at his coming thither: Which exactly agrees to his case

at

* Ad diem XVII. Maii p. 308.
|| Ad An. 59. n. 9. vid. Chrysoth. adu. vituper. vit. monast. lib. 1. c. 4p. p. 351. Tim. iv.
* Annal. l. 13. c. 45. p. 209.
|| Antiq. Jud. lib. 20. cap. 7. p. 657.
De vit. sus. p. 999.

* L. 1. c. 2. ff. de his, qui sui vel alieni juris sunt, lib. 1. Tit. 6. vid. Instit. lib. 1. Tit. 8.

at his first being at *Rome*, but cannot be reconciled with his last coming thither; together with many more circumstances in this Epistle, which render it next door to certain. In it he appoints *Timothy* shortly to come to him, who accordingly came, whose name is joyned together with his in the front of several Epistles, to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and to *Philemon*. The only thing that can be levelled against this is, that in his Epistle to *Timothy*, he tells him, that he had sent *Tychicus* to *Ephesus*, by whom 'tis plain that the Epistles to the *Ephesians* and *Philippians* were dispatched; and that therefore this to *Timothy* must be written after them. But I see no inconvenience to affirm, that *Tychicus* might come to *Rome* presently after S. Paul's arrival there, be by him immediately sent back to *Ephesus* upon some emergent affair of that Church; and after his return to *Rome* be sent with those two Epistles. The design of the Epistle was to excite the holy man to a mighty zeal and diligence, care and fidelity in his office, and to antidote the People against those poisonous principles that in those parts especially began to debase the minds of men.

6. AS for the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, 'tis very uncertain when, or whence, and (for some Ages doubted) by whom 'twas written. * *Eusebius* tells us, 'twas not received by many, because rejected by the Church of *Rome*, as none of S. Paul's genuine Epistles. || *Origen* affirms the style and phrase of it to be more fine and elegant, and to contain in it a richer vein of purer Greek, than is usually found in S. Paul's Epistles; as every one that is able to judge of a style, must needs confess: That the sentences indeed are grave and weighty, and such as breathe the Spirit and Majesty of an Apostle: That therefore 'twas his judgment, that the matter contained in it had been dictated by some Apostle, but that it had been put into phrase, form, and order by some other person that did attend upon him: That if any Church owned it for S. Paul's, they were not to be condemned, it not being without reason by the Ancients ascribed to him; though God only knew who was the true Author of it. He farther tells us, that report had handed it down to his time, that it had been composed partly by *Clement* of *Rome*,

partly by *Luke* the Evangelist. * *Tertullian* adds, that it was writ by *Bar-nabas*. What seems most likely in such variety of opinions is, that S. Paul originally wrote it in *Hebrew*, it being to be sent to the *Jews* his Countrymen, and by some other person, probably S. *Luke*, or *Clement Romanus* translated into Greek; Especially since both || *Eusebius* and * S. *Hierome* observed of old such a great affinity both in style and sense between this and *Clement's* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, as thence positively to conclude him to be the Translator of it. 'Twas written, as we may conjecture, a little after he was restored to his liberty, and probably while he was yet in some parts of *Italy*, whence he dates his salutations. The main design of it is to magnifie *Christ* and the Religion of the Gospel, above *Moses* and the *Jewish* Oeconomy and ministration, that by this means he might the better establish and confirm the Convert-Jews in the firm belief and profession of Christianity, notwithstanding those sufferings and persecutions that came upon them, endeavouring throughout to arm and fortify them against Apostasie from that noble and excellent Religion, wherein they had so happily engaged themselves. And great need there was for the Apostle severely to urge them to it, heavy persecutions both from *Jews* and *Gentiles* pressing in upon them on every side, besides those trains of specious and plausible insinuations that were laid to reduce them to their Ancient Infirmities. Hence the Apostle calls Apostasie the sin which did *seasily beset* them, so which there were such frequent temptations, and into which they were so prone to be betrayed

Heb. 12. 1.

in those suffering times. And the more to deter them from it, he once and again sets before them the dreadful state and condition of Apostates, those who have been once enlightened, and baptized into the Christian Faith, tasted the promises of the Gospel, and been made partakers of the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, those powers which in the world to come, or this new state of things were to be conferred upon the Church, if after all this these men fall away, and renounce Christianity, it's very hard, and even impossible to renew them again unto repentance. For by this means they trod under foot, and crucified the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame, profaned the blood of the Covenant, and did despite to the Spirit of Grace. So that to sin thus wilfully after they had received the knowledge of the truth, there could remain for them no more sacrifice for sins, nothing but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which should devour these adversaries. And a fearful thing it was in such circumstances to fall into the hands of the living God, who had particularly laid of this sort of sinners, that if any man drew back, his soul should have no pleasure in him. Hence it is that every where in this Epistle he mixes exhortations to this purpose, that they would give earnest heed to the things which they had heard, lest at any time they should let them slip, that they would hold fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end, and beware lest by an evil heart of unbelief they departed from the living God; that they would labour to enter into his rest, lest any man fall after the example of unbelief; that leaving the first principles of the doctrine of *Christ*, they would go on to perfection, shewing diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end, not being slothful, but followers of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promises; that they would hold fast the profession of the faith without wavering, not forsaking the assembling of themselves together (as the manner of some was) nor cast away their confidence, which had great recompense of reward; that they had need of patience, that after they had done the will of God, they might receive the promise; that they would not be of them who drew back unto perdition, but of them that believed to the saving of the Soul; that being encompassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, who with the most unconquerable constancy and resolution had all holden on in the way to Heaven, they would lay aside every weight, and the sin which did so easily beset them, and run with patience the race that was set before them, especially looking unto *Jesus* the author and finisher of their faith, who endured the cross, and despised the shame, that therefore they should consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest they should be wearied and faint in their minds, for that they had not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin; looking diligently lest any man should fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up should trouble them, and thereby many be defiled. By all which, and much more that might be observed to this purpose, it is evident, what our Apostle's great design was in this excellent Epistle.

7. OUR Apostle being now after two Years custody perfectly restored to liberty remembered that he was the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, and had therefore a larger Diocese than *Rome*, and accordingly prepared himself for a greater Circuit, though which way he directed his course, is not absolutely certain. By some he is said to have returned back into *Greece*, and the parts of *Asia*, upon no other ground that I know of, than a few intimations in some of his Epistles that he intended to do so. By others he is thought to have preached both in the *Eastern* and *Western* parts, which is not inconsistent with the time he had after his departure from *Rome*. But of the latter we have better evidence. Sure I am, an Author beyond all exception, S. Paul's

Cap. 6. v. 4, 5, 6.
Cap. 10. v. 26,
27, 28, 29.

S E C T. VIII.

The Description of his *Person* and *Temper*, together
with an Account of his *Writings*.

The Person of S. Paul described. His infirm constitution. His natural endowments. His ingenious Education, and admirable skill in humane Learning and Sciences. The Divine temper of his mind. His singular humility and condescension. His temperance and sobriety, and contempt of the World. Whether he lived a married or a single life. His great kindness and compassion. His charity to mens Bodies and Souls. His mighty zeal for Religion. His admirable industry and diligence in his Office. His unconquerable Patience : The many great troubles he underwent. His constancy and fidelity in the profession of Christianity. His Writings. His style and way of Writing, what. S. Hierom's bold censure of it. The perplexedness and obscurity of his Discourses, whence. The account given of it by the Ancients. The Order of his Epistles, what. Placed not according to the time when, but the dignity of Persons or Places to which they were written. The Subscriptions at the end of them, of what value. The Writings fathered upon S. Paul. His Gospel. A third Epistle to the Corinthians. The Epistle to the Laodiceans. His Apocalypse. His Acts. The Epistles between him and Seneca.

1. **T**HOUGH we have drawn *S. Paul* at large, in the account we have given of his Life, yet may it be useful, to represent him in little, in a brief account of his Person, Parts, and those Graces and Vertues, for which he was more peculiarly eminent and remarkable. For his Person, we find it thus ^r described. He was low and of little stature, and somewhat stooping, his complexion fair, his countenance grave, his head small, his eyes carrying a kind of beauty and sweetness in them, his eye-brows a little hanging over, his nose long, but gracefully bending, his beard thick, and like the hair on his head, mixed with gray hairs. Somewhat of this description may be learnt from || *Lucian*, when in the person of *Trypho*, one of Saint *Paul*'s disciples, he calls him by way of derision, *high-nosed bald-pated Galilean*, that was caught up through the Air unto the *third Heaven*, where he learnt great and excellent things. That he was very low, himself plainly intimates, when he tells us, they were wont to say of him, that *his bodily presence was weak, and his speech contemptible*; in which respect he is styled ^{by} *Chrystostome*, *ὁ τριταῦς ἀνδρῶν*, a man three cubits ^{or} a little more than four foot ^{high}, and yet tall enough to reach Heaven. He seems to have enjoyed no very firm and athletick constitution, being often subject to ⁴ distempers; || *S. Hierome* particularly reports, that he was frequently afflicted with the head-ach, and that this was thought by many to have been the *thorn in the flesh*, the messenger of Satan sent to buffet him, and that probably he intended some such thing by the temptation in *his flesh*, which he elsewhere speaks of: Which however it may in general signify those afflictions that came upon him, yet does it primarily denote those diseases and infirmities that he was obnoxious to.

2. BUT

2. BUT how mean soever the Cabinet was, there was a treasure within more precious and valuable, as will appear, if we survey the accomplishments of his mind. For as to his natural abilities and endowments, he seems to have had a clear and solid judgment, quick invention, a prompt and ready memory; all which were abundantly improved by Art, and the advantages of a more liberal Education. The Schools of *Tarfus* had sharpened his discursive faculty by *Logic*, and the Arts of reasoning, instructed him in the Institutions of Philosophy, and enriched him with the furniture of all kinds of humane Learning. This gave him great advantage above others, and ever raised him to a mighty reputation for Parts and Learning; inasmuch that * *S. Chrylstone* tells us of a dispute between a *Christian* and a *Heathen*, wherein the *Christian* endeavoured to prove against the *Gentile*, that *S. Paul* was more Learned and Eloquent than *Plato* himself. How well he was versed, not only in the Law of *Moses*, and the writings of the Prophets, but even in *Classick* and Foreign writers, he has left us sufficient ground to conclude, from those excellent sayings, which here and there he quotes out of *Heathen* Authors. Which as at once it shews, that 'tis not unlawful to bring the spoils of *Egypt* into the service of the *Sanduary*, and to make use of the advantages of Foreign studies and humane literature to Divine and excellent purposes, so does it argue his being greatly conversant in the paths of humane Learning, which upon every occasion he could so readily command. Indeed he seemed to have been furnished out on purpose to be the *Doctor of the Gentiles*, to contend with, and confute the grave and the wise, the accurate and the subtle, the sage and the learned of the *Heathen* World, and to wound them (as *Julian's* word was) with arrows drawn out of their own *Quiver*. Though we do not find, that in his disputes with the *Gentiles* he made much use of Learning and Philosophy; it being more agreeable to the designs of the Gospel, to confound the wisdom and learning of the World by the plain doctrine of the *Cross*.

3. THESE were great accomplishments, and yet but a shadow to that Divine temper of mind that was in him, which discovered it self through the whole course and method of his life. He was humble to the lowest step of abasement and condescension, none ever thinking better of others, or more meanly of himself. And though when he had to deal with envious and malicious adversaries, who by vilifying his person, fought to obstruct his Ministry, he knew how to magnify his office, and to let them know, that he was *no whit inferior to the very chiefest Apostles*; yet out of this case he constantly declared to all the World, that he looked upon himself as an *Abstruse*, and an untimely Birth, as the *least of the Apostles, not meet to be called an Apostle*; and as if this were not enough, he makes a word on purpose to express his humility, styling himself *ἡμιμαθῆς, less than the least of all Saints, yea, the very chief of sinners*. How freely, and that at every turn does he confess what he was before his conversion, a *Blasphemer, a Persecutor, and Injurious* both to God and Men? Though honoured with peculiar Aids of the highest grace and favour, taken up to an immediate converse with God in Heaven, yet did not this swell him with a supercilious loftiness over the rest of his brethren: Intrusted he was with great power and authority in the Church, but never affected *dominion over mens Faith*, nor any other place, than to be an *helper of their joy*, nor ever made use of his power, but to the *edification, not destruction* of any. How studiously did he decline all honours and commendations that were heaped upon him? When some in the Church of *Corinth* cried him up beyond all measures, and under the patronage of his name began to set up for a party, he severely rebuked them.

S 2

told

told them, that it was *Christ*, not he that was crucified for them, that they had *not been baptized into his name*, which he was so far from, that he did not remember that he had baptized above three or four of them, and was heartily glad he had baptized no more, left a foundation might have been laid for that suspicion; that this *Paul*, whom they so much extolled, was no more than a *Minister of Christ*, whom our Lord had appointed to plant and build up his Church.

4. GREAT was his temperance and sobriety, so far from going beyond the bounds of regularity, that he abridged himself of the conveniences of lawfull and necessary accommodations; frequent his hungerings and thirstings, not constrained onely, but voluntary; it's probably thought that he very rarely drank any Wine; certain, that by abstinence and mortification he *kept under and subdued his body*, reducing the extravagancy of the sensual appetites to a perfect subjection to the laws of Reason. By this means he easily got above the World, and its charms and frowns, and his mind continually conversant in Heaven, his thoughts were fixed there, his desires always ascending thither, what he taught others, he practised himself, his *conversion was in Heaven*, and his *desires were to depart, and to be with Christ*; this World did neither arrest his affections, nor disturb his fears, he was not taken with its applause, nor frightened with its threatenings; *he studied not to please men*, nor valued the censures and judgments which they passed upon him; he was not greedy of a great estate, or titles of honour, or rich presents from men, *not seeking theirs, but them*; food and raiment was his bill of fare, and more than this he never cared for; accounting, that the less he was clogged with these things, the lighter he should march to Heaven, especially travelling through a World over-run with troubles and persecutions. Upon this account it's probable he kept himself always within a single life, though there want not some of the Ancients who expressly reckon him in the number of the married Apostles, as * *Clemens Alexandrinus*, || *Ignatius*, and some others. 'Tis true that passage is not to be found in the genuine Epistle of *Ignatius*, but yet is extant in all those that are owned and published by the Church of Rome, though they have not been wanting to banish it out the World, having expunged S. Paul's name out of some ancient Manuscripts, as the learned Bishop * *Usher* has to their shame sufficiently discovered to the World. But for the main of the question we can readily grant it, the Scripture seeming most to favour it, that though he asserted his power and liberty to marry as well as the rest, yet that he lived always a single life.

5. HIS kindness and charity was truly admirable; he had a compassionate tenderness for the poor, and a quick sense of the wants of others: To what Church soever he came, it was one of his first cares, to make provision for the poor, and to stir up the bounty of the rich and wealthy, nay, himself worked often with his own hands, not onely to maintain himself, but to help and relieve them. But infinitely greater was his charity to the Souls of men, fearing no dangers, refusing no labours, going through good and evil report, that he might gain men over to the knowledge of the truth, reduce them out of the crooked paths of vice and idolatry, and set them in the right way to eternal life. Nay, so insatiable his thirst after the good of Souls, that he affirms, that rather than his Country-men the *Jews* should miscarry by not believing and entertaining the Gospel, he could be content, nay wished, that *himself might be accursed from Christ for their sake*, i. e. that he might be anathematized and cut off from the Church of Christ, and not onely lose the honour of the Apostolate, but be reckoned in the number of the abject and execrable persons, such as those are who are separated from the communion

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3. p. 448.
|| Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. in Ebid. Ty. Gr. L. T. 1. p. 23. Euseb. l. 3. c. 30.
* Usher. Not. in Ignat. Epist. ad Philadelph. vid. James his corrupt. of the Faith. Part. II. pag. 57.

communion of the Church. An instance of so large and passionate a charity, that left it might not find room in mens belief, he uttered it in with this solemn appeal and attestation, that *he said the truth in Christ, and lied not, his conscience bearing him witness in the Holy Ghost*. And as he was infinitely solicitous to gain men over to the best Religion in the World, so was he not less careful to keep them from being seduced from it, ready to suspect every

thing that might corrupt their minds from the simplicity that is in Christ. I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy; as he told the Church of Corinth: An affection of all others the most active and vigilant, and which is wont to inspire men with the most passionate care and concernment for the good of those, for whom we have the highest measures of love and kindness. Nor was his charity to men greater than his zeal for God, endeavouring with all his might to promote the honour of his Master. Indeed zeal seems to have had a deep foundation in the natural forwardness of his temper. How exceedingly zealous was he, while in the *Jews Religion*, of the Traditions of his Fathers, how earnest to vindicate and assert the Divinity of the *Mosaic Dispensation*, and to persecute all of a contrary way, even to rage and madness? And when afterwards turned into a right channel, it ran with as swift a current; carrying him out against all opposition to ruin the Kingdom and the powers of darkness, to beat down Idolatry, and to plant the World with right apprehensions of God, and the true notions of Religion. When at Athens he saw them so much overgrown with the grossest superstition and idolatry, giving the honour that was alone due to God to Statues and Images, his zeal began to ferment, and to boil up into *Paroxysms* of indignation, and he could not but let them know the repentments of his mind, and how much herein they dishonoured God, the great Parent and Maker of the World.

6. THIS zeal must needs put him upon a mighty diligence and industry in the execution of his office, warning, reproving, entreating, persuading, *preaching in season, and out of season*, by night, and by day, by Sea and Land; no pains too much to be taken; no dangers too great to be overcome. For five and thirty years after his Conversion, he seldom staid long in one place, from Jerusalem, through Arabia, Asia, Greece, round about to Illyricum, to Rome, and even to the utmost bounds of the Western-world, *fully preaching the Gospel of Christ*: Running (says S. Hierome) from Ocean to Ocean, like the Sun in the Heavens, of which 'tis said, *He going forth is from the end of the Heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it*; sooner wanting ground to tread on, than a desire to propagate the Faith of Christ. † *Nicephorus* compares him to a Bird in the Air, that in a few years flew round the World: *Isidore* the * *Pelagius* to a winged Husbandman, that flew from place to place to cultivate the World with the most excellent rules and institutions of life. And while the other Apostles did as 'twere chuse this or that particular Province, as the main sphere of their ministry, Saint Paul over-ran the whole World to its utmost bounds and corners, planting all places where he came with the Divine Doctrines of the Gospel. Nor in this course was he tired out with the dangers and difficulties that he met with, the troubles and oppositions that were raised against him. All which did but reflect the greater lustre upon his patience, whereof indeed (as † *Clement* observes) he became *μεγαλειωτος σωτηριου*, a most eminent

2 Cor. 11. 2.
Οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὅστις ἐμὲ οὕτως, εἶπε: ὁ πᾶσις τὸν σὸφιστὴν ἐστίν, ὡς ἔγωγε. ὁδοποιοῦν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκζητῶντες ἀποκαταστάσειν· καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐκκαθάρσει, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι τὸν Χριστόν. *Homil. 23. in 2. ad Corinth. p. 89.*

* Εὐσεβ. ὁ 11^{ος} Ἀποστόλων, οὗτος ὁ πᾶσις, ὅστις ἀποκαταστάσειν ἀνέστη, ταῦτα ἐδίδου. ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀποστόλος, πᾶσις ὡς ἐκκλησία ἐκκαθάρσει, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκζητῶντες ἀποκαταστάσειν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκζητῶντες ἀποκαταστάσειν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκζητῶντες ἀποκαταστάσειν. *Lib. 3. Epist. 176. ad Hild. Diac. p. 285.*

* Epist. ad Cor. p. 8.
† Clement observes) he became *μεγαλειωτος σωτηριου*, a most eminent

der, till some distance after : which indeed to men of a more nice and delicate temper, and who will not give themselves leave patiently to trace out his reasonings, must needs create some obscurity. *Origen* and *S. Hierome* sometimes observe, that besides this he uses many of his Native phrases of the *Cilician* dialect, which being in a great measure foreign and exotic to the ordinary *Greek*, introduces a kind of strangeness into his discourse, and renders it less intelligible. *Epiphanius* tells us, that by these methods he acted like a skilfull Archer, hitting the mark before his adversaries were aware of it; by words misplaced making the frame of his discourse seem obscure and entangled, while in it self it was not only most true, but elaborate, and not difficult to be understood; that to careless and trifling Readers it might sometimes seem dissonant and incoherent, but to them that are diligent, and will take their reason along with them, it would appear full of truth, and to be disposed with great care and order.

10. AS for the order of these Epistles, we have already given a particular account of the times when, and the places whence they were written. That which is here considerable, is the Order according to which they are disposed in the sacred Canon. Certain it is that they are not plac'd according to the just order of time, wherein they were written, the two Epistles to the *Thessalonians* being on all hands agreed to have been first written, though set almost last in order. Most probable therefore it is, that they were plac'd according to the dignity of those to whom they were sent : the reason, why those to whole Churches have the precedence of those to particular persons : and among those to Churches, that to the *Romans* had the first place and rank assigned to it, because of the majesty of the Imperial City, and the eminency and honourable respect which that Church derived thence : and whether the same reason do not hold in others, though I will not positively assert, yet I think none will over-confidently deny. The last enquiry concerns the *subscriptions* added to the end of these Epistles; which, were they authentick, would determine some doubts concerning the time and place of their writing. But alas, they are of no just value and Authority, not the same in all Copies, different in the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Versions, nay wholly wanting in some ancient *Greek* Copies of the New Testament; and were doubtless at first added at best upon probable conjectures. When at any time they truly represent the place whence, or the Person by whom the Epistle was sent, 'tis not that they are to be relied upon in it, but because the thing is either intimated or express'd in the body of the Epistle. I shall add no more but this observation, that *S. Paul* was wont to subscribe every Epistle with his own hand, which is my token in every Epistle; so I write. Which was done (says * one of the Ancients) to prevent Impostures, that his Epistles might not be interpolated and corrupted, and that if any vented Epistles under his name, the cheat might be discovered by the Apostle's own hand not being to them : and this brings me to the last consideration, that shall conclude this Chapter.

11. THAT there were some even in the most early Ages of Christianity, who took upon them (for what ends I stand not now to enquire) to write Books, and publish them under the name of some Apostle, is notoriously known to any, though but never so little conversant in Church-Antiquities. Herein *S. Paul* had his part and share, several supposititious Writings being fathered and thrust upon him. We find a *Gospel* ascribed by some of the Ancients to him, which surely arose from no other cause, than that in some of his Epistles he makes mention of my *Gospel*. Which as * *S. Hierome* observes, can be meant of no other than the *Gospel* of *S. Luke*, his

his constant Attendant, and from whom he chiefly derived his intelligence. If he wrote another Epistle to the *Corinthians*, precedent to those two extant at this Day, as he seems to imply in a passage in his first Epistle, I have wrote unto you in an Epistle, not to keep company, &c. a passage not conveniently applicable to any part either in that or the other Epistle, nay a Verse or two after the first Epistle is directly opposed to it; all that can be said in the case is, that it long since perished, the Divine providence not seeing it necessary to be preserved for the service of the Church. Frequent mention there is also of an Epistle of his to the *Laodiceans*, grounded upon a mistaken passage in the Epistle to the *Colossians* : but besides that the Apostle does not there speak of an Epistle written to the *Laodiceans*, but of one from them, * *Tertullian* tells us, that by the Epistle to the *Laodiceans* is meant that to the *Ephesians*, and that *Marcion* the Heretic was the first that changed the title, and therefore in his enumeration of *S. Paul's* Epistles he omits that to the *Ephesians*, for no other reason doubtless but that according to *Marcion's* opinion he had reckoned it up under the title of that to the *Laodiceans*. Which yet is more clear, if we consider that *Epiphanius* citing a place quoted by *Marcion* out of the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*, it is in the very same words found in that to the *Ephesians* at this Day. However such an Epistle is still extant, forged no doubt before *S. Hierom's* time, * who tells us, that it was read by some, but yet exploded and rejected by all. Besides these there was his *Revelation*, call'd also *Apokalypsis* or his *Ascension*, grounded on his ecstasie or rapture into Heaven, first forged by the *Cainian* Heretics, and in great use and estimation among the *Gnosticks*. * *Sozomen* tells us, that this *Apocalypse* was owned by none of the Ancients, though much commended by some Monks in his time : and he farther adds, that in the time of the Emperour *Theodosius*, it was said to have been found in an underground Chest of Marble in *S. Paul's* house at *Tarsus*, and that by a particular revelation. A story which upon enquiry he found to be as false, as the Book it self was forged and spurious. The *Acts* of *S. Paul* are mentioned both by *Origen* and * *Eusebius*, but not as Writings of approved and unquestionable credit and authority. The Epistles that are said to have passed between *S. Paul* and *Seneca*, how early soever they started in the Church, yet the falshood and fabulousness of them is now too notoriously known, to need any farther account or description of them.

|| *Haref.* 64.
p. 239.

2 *Theff.* 3. 17.
* *Ambros.* in loc.
T. 5. p. 397.

* *De Script.*
Ecdl. in *Luc.*

1 *Cor.* 5. 9.
Ver. 11.

Col. 4. 16.

* *Adv. Marc.*
l. 5. c. 11. p. 476.
ib. c. 17. p. 481.

|| *Haref.* 42.
adv. Marcion.
p. 142.

* *De Script.*
Ecdl. in *Paulo.*
|| *Epiph.* *Haref.*
38. p. 124.
Augustin in *Jo-*
an. Tract. 58.
col. 488.
* *It. Ecdl.* l. 7.
c. 19. p. 735.

|| *Orig.* *ms.*
Apoc. l. 1. c. 2.
fol. 114. p. 2.
* *Euseb.* *lib.* 3.
c. 3. p. 72.

SECT. IX.

The principal *Controversies* that exercised the Church in his time.

Simon Magus the Father of Hereticks. The wretched principles and practices of him and his followers. Their asserting Angel-worship; and how countermin'd by S. Paul. Their holding it lawful to sacrifice to Idols, and abjure the Faith in times of persecution, discovered and opposed by S. Paul. Their maintaining an universal licence to sin. Their manners and opinions herein described by S. Paul in his Epistles. The great controversy of those times about the obligation of the Law of Moses upon the Gentile Converts. The Original of it, whence. The mighty veneration which the Jews had for the Law of Moses. The true state of the Controversie, what. The Determination made in it by the Apostolick Synod at Jerusalem. Meats offered to Idols, what. Abstinence from Bloud, why enjoyed of old. Things strangled, why forbidden. Fornication commonly practised and accounted lawful among the Gentiles. The hire of the Harlot, what. How dedicated to their Deities among the Heathens. The main passages in S. Paul's Epistles concerning Justification and Salvation shewed to have respect to this controversy. What meant by Law, and what by Faith in S. Paul's Epistles. The Persons whom he has to deal with in this Controversie, who. The Jew's strange doting upon Circumcision. The way and manner of the Apostles Reasoning in this Controversie considered. His chief Arguments shewed immediately to respect the case of the Jew with Gentile Converts. No other controversy in those times, which his discourses could refer to. Two Consecrations from this Discourse. I. That works of Evangelical Obedience are not opposed to Faith in Justification. What meant by works of Evangelical Obedience. This method of Justification excludes boasting, and entirely gives the glory to God. II. That the doctrines of S. Paul and S. James about Justification are fairly consistent with each other. These two Apostles shewed to pursue the same design. S. James his excellent Reasonings to that purpose.

I. **T**HOUGH our Lord and his Apostles delivered the Christian Religion, especially as to the main and essential parts of it, in words as plain as words could express it, yet were there Men of perverse and corrupt minds, and reprobate concerning the Faith, who from different causes, some ignorantly or wilfully mistaking the doctrines of Christianity, others to serve ill purposes and designs, began to introduce errors and unsound opinions into the Church, and to debase the minds of Men from the simplicity of the Gospel, hereby disquieting the thoughts, and alienating the affections of Men, and disturbing the peace and order of the Church. The first Ring-leader of this Heretical crew was Simon Magus, who not being able to attain his ends of the Apostles, by getting a power to confer miraculous gifts, whereby he designed to greatness and enrich himself, resolved to be revenged of them, scattering the most poisonous tares among the good wheat that they had sown, bringing in the most pernicious principles, and as the natural consequent of that, patronizing the most debauched villainous practices, and

and this under a pretence of still being Christians. To enumerate the several *Dogmata* and damnable Heresies, first broached by Simon, and then vented and propagated by his disciples and followers, who though passing under different Titles, yet all centred at last in the name of *Gnosticks*, (a term which we shall sometimes use for convenience, though it took not place till after S. Paul's time) were as needles, as 'tis alien to my purpose. I shall only take notice of a few of more signal remark, and such as S. Paul in his Epistles does eminently reflect upon.

2. AMONGST the opinions and principles of Simon and his followers this was * one, That God did not create the World, that it was made by Angels, that Divine honours were due to them, and they to be adored as subordinate mediators between God and us. This our Apostle saw growing up apace, and struck betimes at the root, in that early caution he gave to the *Colossians*, to let no man beguile them in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which be hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind; and not holding the head, i. e. hereby disclaiming Christ, the head of the Church. But notwithstanding this warning, this error still continued and spread it self in those parts for several Ages, till expressly condemned by the * *Laodicean Council*. Nay, || *Theodoret* tells us, that in his time there were still *Oratories* erected to the *Archangel Michael* in those places, wherein they were wont to meet and pray to Angels. Another *Gnostic* principle was, * that Men might freely and indifferently eat what had been offered in sacrifice to Idols, yea, sacrifice to the Idol it self, it being lawful confidently to abjure the Faith in time of Persecution. The first part whereof S. Paul does largely and frequently discuss up and down his Epistles; the latter, wherein the sting and poison was more immediately couched, was craftily adapted to those times of suffering, and greedily swallowed by many, hereby drawn into Apostasy. Against this our Apostle antidotes the Christians, especially the Jewish Converts, among whom the *Gnosticks* had mixed themselves, that they would not suffer themselves to be drawn aside by an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God: That notwithstanding sufferings and persecutions they would hold fast the profession of the Faith without wavering, not forsaking the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is (the *Gnostick* Hereticks) remembering how severely God has threatened Apostates, that if any man draw back, his Soul shall have no pleasure in him, and what a fearful thing it is thus to fall into the hands of the living God.

3. **B**UT besides this, Simon and his followers made the gate yet wider, maintaining an universal licence to sin, * that Men were free to do whatever they had a mind to, that to press the observance of good works was a bondage inconsistent with the liberty of the Gospel; that so Men did but believe in him, and his dear *Helen*, they had no reason to regard Law or Prophets, but might do what they pleased, they should be saved by his grace, and not according to good works. *Irenaeus* adds (what a man might easily have inferred, had he never been told it) that they lived in all lust and filthiness; as indeed whoever will take the pains to peruse the account that is given of them, will find that they wallowed in the most horrible and unheard-of bestialities. These persons S. Paul does as particularly describe, as if he had named them, having once and again with tears warned the *Philippians* of them, that they were enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things. And elsewhere to the same effect, that they would mark them that caused divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which they had learned,

* *Iren. l. 1. c. 20. Epiph. Har. 21. Tert. de Praef. Har. c. 33. p. 214. &c. qd. p. 219. Aug. de Heres. Har. XXXIX. Col. 2. 18.*

* *Can. 35. || Theod. comment. in Col. 2.*

* *Orig. adv. Cel. lib. 6. p. 282. Euseb. l. 4. c. 7. p. 120.*

Heb. 3. 12.

Heb. 10. 23. 29. 31. 38.

* *Iren. adv. Har. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 116.*

Phil. 3. 17, 18.

Rom. 16. 17.

18.

Eph. 5: 3, 4;
&c.

and avoid them; for they that were such, served not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, by good words and fair speeches deceiving the hearts of the simple. This I doubt not he had in his eye, when he gave those Caveats to the Ephesians, that fornication, and all uncleanness, and inordinate desires should not be once named amongst them, as became Saints, nor filthiness, nor unclean talking; being assured by the Christian doctrine, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, &c. could be saved: that therefore they should let no man deceive them with vain words; these being the very things for which the wrath of God came upon the children of disobedience, and accordingly it concerned them not to be partakers with them. Plainly intimating, that this impure Gnostick-cruel (whose doctrines and practices he does here no less truly than lively represent) had begun by crafty and insinuating arts to screw it self into the Church of Ephesus, cheating the People with subtle and flattering insinuations, probably persuading them that these things were but indifferent, and a part of that Christian liberty, wherein the Gospel had inflated them. By these and such like principles and practices (many whereof might be reckoned up) they corrupted the Faith of Christians, distracted the peace of the Church, stained and defiled the honour and purity of the best Religion in the World.

4. BUT the greatest and most famous Controversie that of all others in those times exercised the Christian Church, was concerning the obligation that Christians were under to observe the Law of Moses as necessary to their Justification and Salvation. Which became a matter of so much importance, and which takes up so great a part of S. Paul's Epistles, and the clearing whereof will reflect a great light upon them, we shall consider more at large: In order whereunto three things especially are to be enquired after, the true state of the Controversie, what the Apostles determined in this matter, and what respect the most material passages in S. Paul's Epistles about Justification and Salvation bear to this Controversie. First we shall enquire into the true state and nature of the Controversie; and for this we are to know, that when Christianity was published to the World, it mainly prevailed among the Jews, they being generally the first Converts to the Faith. But having been brought up in a mighty reverence and veneration for the Mosaic Institutions, and looking upon that Oeconomy as immediately contrived by God himself, delivered by Angels, settled by their great Master Moses, received with the most solemn and sensible appearances of Divine power and majesty, ratified by miracles, and entertained by all their forefathers as the peculiar prerogative of that Nation for so many Ages and Generations, they could not easily be brought off from it, or behold the Gospel but with an evil eye, as an enemy that came to supplant and undermine this ancient and excellent Institution. Nay, those of them that were prevailed upon by the convictive power and evidence of the Gospel, to embrace the Christian Religion, yet could not get over the prejudice of education, but must still continue their observance of those legal rites and customs, wherein they had been brought up. And not content with this, they began magisterially to impose them upon others, even all the Gentile Converts, as that without which they could never be accepted by God in this, or rewarded by him in another World. This controversy was first started at Antioch, a place not more remarkable for its own greatness, than the vast numbers of Jews that dwelt there, enjoying great immunities granted them by the King of Syria. For after that Antiochus Epiphanes had destroyed Jerusalem, and laid waste the Temple, the Jews generally flocked hither, where they were courteously entertained by his successours, the spoils of the Temple restored to them for the enriching and adorning of their Synagogue, and

Joseph. de Bell.
Jud. l. 7. c. 21.
p. 973

and they made equally with the Greeks free-men of that City. By which means their numbers encreased daily, partly by the resort of others from Judea, partly by a numerous conversion of Proselytes, whom they gained over to their Religion. Accordingly Christianity at its first setting out found a very successful entertainment in this place. And hither it was that some of the Jewish Converts being come down from Jerusalem, taught the Christians, that unless they observed Circumcision, and the whole Law of Moses, they could not be saved. Paul and Barnabas then at Antioch, observing the ill influence that this had upon the minds of men (disturbing many at present, and causing the Apostasy of some afterwards) began vigorously to oppose this growing error; but not able to conjure down this Spirit that had been raised up, they were dispatched by the Church at Antioch to consult the Apostles and Governours at Jerusalem about this matter: Whither being come, they found the quarrel espoused among others by some Converts of the Sect of the Pharisees (of all others the most zealous assertors of the Mosaic rites) stiffly maintaining, that besides the Gospel or the Christian Religion, it was necessary for all Converts, whether Jews or Gentiles, to keep to Circumcision, and the Law of Moses. So that the state of the controversy between the Orthodox and these Judaizing Christians was plainly this,

Whether Circumcision and the observation of the Mosaic Law, or, only the belief and practice of Christianity be necessary to Salvation?

The latter part of the question was maintained by the Apostles, the former asserted by the Judaizing Zelots, making the Law of Moses equally necessary with the Law of Christ; and no doubt pretending that whatever these Men might preach at Antioch, yet the Apostles were of another mind; whose sentence and resolution it was therefore thought necessary should be immediately known.

5. WE are then next to consider what determination the Apostolick Synod at Jerusalem made of this matter. For a Council of the Apostles and Rulers being immediately convened, and the question by Paul and Barnabas brought before them, the case was canvassed and debated on all hands, and at last it was resolved upon by their unanimous sentence and suffrage, that the Gentile Converts were under no obligation to the Jewish Law, that God had abundantly declared his acceptance of them, though strangers to the Mosaic Oeconomy, that they were sufficiently secured of their happiness and salvation by the grace of the Gospel, wherein they might be justified and saved without Circumcision or legal Ceremonies, a yoke from which Christ had now set us free. But because the Apostles did not think it prudent in these circumstances, too much to stir the exasperated humour of the Jews (left by straining the string too high at first, they should endanger their revolting from the Faith) therefore they thought of some indulgence in the case, S. James, then Bishop of Jerusalem, and probably President of the Council, propounding this expedient, that for the present the Gentile Converts should so far only comply with the humour of the Jews, as to abstain from meats offered to Idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication. Let us a little more distinctly survey the ingredients of this imposition. Meats offered to Idols, or as S. James in his discourse styles them εἰδωλῶν, the pollution of Idols, the word εἰδωλῶν properly denoting the Meats that were polluted by being consecrated to the Idol. Thus we read of ἄρτος Μωλ, ἀεὶ εἰδωλῶν, (as the LXX render it) polluted bread upon God's Altar, i. e. such probably as had been before offered to Idols. So that these meats offered to the Idols were parts of those Sacrifices which the

Matth. 1. 7.

the Heathens offered to their Gods, of the remaining portions whereof they usually made a Feast in the *Idol-temple*, inviting their friends thither, and sometimes their Christian friends to come along with them. This God had particularly forbidden the Jews by the Law of *Moses*, *Thou shalt worship no other God: lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and go a whoring after their Gods, and do sacrifice unto their Gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice.* And the not observing this prohibition cost the Jews dear, when invited by the *Moabites* to the Sacrifices of their Gods, *they did eat with them, and bowed down to their Gods.* Sometimes these remaining portions were sold for common use in the Shambles, and bought by Christians. Both which gave great offence to the zealous Jews, who looked upon it as a participation in the Idolatries of the Heathen: Of both which our Apostle discourses elsewhere at large, pressing Christians to *abstain from Idolatry*, both as to the *Idol-feasts*, and the remainders of the Sacrifice: From the former as more immediately unlawful, from the latter, the Sacrificial Meats sold in the Shambles, as giving offence to weak and undiscerning Christians. For though in it self an *Idol was nothing in the World*, and consequently no honour could be done it by eating what was offered to it, yet was it more prudent and reasonable to abstain, partly because flesh-meats have no peculiar excellency in them to commend us to God; partly because all Men were not alike instructed in the knowledge of their liberty, their minds easily puzzled, and their consciences entangled, the *Gentiles* by this means hardened in their idolatrous practices, weak brethren offended; besides, though these things were in their own nature indifferent, and in a Man's own power to do, or to let alone, yet was it not convenient to make our liberty a snare to others, and to venture upon what was lawful, when it was plainly unedifying and inexpedient. *From blood:* This God forbade of old, and that sometime before the giving of the Law by *Moses*, that *they should not eat the flesh with the blood, which was the life thereof.* The mystery of which prohibition was to instruct Men in the duties of mercy and tenderness even to brute Beasts, but (as appears from what follows after) primarily designed by God as a solemn fence and bar against murder, and the effusion of humane blood. A Law afterwards renewed upon the Jews, and inserted into the body of the *Mosaic* Precepts. *From things strangled:* that is, that they should abstain from eating of those Beasts that died without letting blood, where the blood was not thoroughly drained from them; a prohibition grounded upon the reason of the former, and indeed was greatly abominable to the Jews, being so expressly forbidden in their Law. But it was not more offensive to the Jews than acceptable to the * *Gentiles*, who were wont with great art and care to strangle living Creatures, that they might stew or dreis them with their blood in them, as a point of curious and exquisite delicacy. This and the foregoing prohibition, abstinence from blood, died not with the Apostles, nor were buried with other Jewish rites, but were invariably observed for several Ages in the Christian Church, as we have // elsewhere observed from the Writers of those times. Lastly, *From Fornication:* This was a thing commonly practised in the Heathen World, who generally beheld *simple Fornication* as no * sin, and that it was lawful for persons, not engaged in wedlock, to make use of women that exposed themselves. A custom justly offensive to the Jews, and therefore to cure two evils at once, the Apostles here solemnly declare against it. Not that they thought

Exod. 31. 14.
15.

Numb. 25. 2-4.

Gen. 9. 4.

Lev. 17. 10, 11.

12. 6c.

* Athen. Deip.

not lib. 2. c. 24.

p. 65. ubi vid.

Galath. in loc.

// Prim. Christ. Part. 3. c. 1. p. 230.

* Vid. Cicero pro Caelio Orat. 34. p. 503. Tima.

Terent. Adelph. Ac. 1. Sc. 2. p. 165.

Σδ δ' εἰς ἀμύλην οὐκ ἐδιδόκει, Σόλων.

Σδ δ' ἀγύρευεν οὐκ ἴδεν ἀμύλην.

ἀμύληται δὲ Σόλῳ πρὸς τὸν νόμον.

Καὶ μὴ λέγειν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμύλητος Σόλων.

λέγειν οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ πᾶσι νομοφύλοις.

Τέτοις τ' ἐχέμεν τὴν ἀνάλυσιν οὕτως.

ἀμύληται οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ μὴ νομοφύλοις ὅτι.

Σόλωνος περὶ ἀμύλης τὴν γυναικὶν ὅτι πέρας

καταδὲ ἀμύλην ἢ κατὰ νόμον ἀμύληται.

Ἐστὶν γυναικὶ, ὅτι. Philen. Comic. in Delph.

ap. Athen. lib. 13. c. 2. p. 569. Vid. Leg. Attic.

L. 6. Tit. 5. p. 41. & Petit. Comment. p. 474.

it a thing indifferent, as the rest of the prohibited rites were, for it is forbidden by the natural Law (as contrary to that chastity and modesty, that order and comeliness which God has planted in the minds of men) but they joined it in the same *Class* with them, because the *Gentiles* looked upon it as a thing lawful and indifferent. It had been expressly forbidden by the *Mosaic* Law, *There shall be no Whore of the daughters of Israel;* and because the Heathens had generally thrown down this fence and bar set by the Law of nature, it was here again repaired by the first planters of Christianity, as by S. Paul elsewhere, *Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus for this is the will of God, even your Sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication: That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God.* Though after all I must confess my self inclinable to embrace *Hefinsus* his ingenious conjecture, that by *πορνεία*, fornication, we are here to understand *πόρνος μίσθωμα*, the harlots hire, or the *πορνική δούλα*, the offering which those persons were wont to make. For among the *Gentiles* nothing was more usual, than for the common women, that prostituted themselves to lewd embraces (those especially that attended at the Temples of *Venus*) to dedicate some part of their gain, and present it to the Gods. * *Athanasius* has a passage very express to this purpose. *Ἰουδαίους γὰρ ἐκ εἰδυμένων ὁ Πουλίσιος παλαιὰ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπαγορεύει τοῖς ἐκείνους ἐν τῇ τῶν αἰμάτων μίσθωσει, ὡς καὶ τῇ πορνείᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, καὶ ἐν δὲ ἀμύλῃ ἀγύρευεν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν νόμον.* The women of old were wont to sit in the *Idol-temple*s of *Phenicia*, and to dedicate the gain which they got by the prostitution of their bodies as a kind of *first-fruits* to the Deities of the place; supposing that by fornication they should pacify their Goddesses, and by this means render her favourable and propitious to them. Where 'tis plain he uses *πορνεία*, or fornication, in this very sense, for that gain or reward of it, which they consecrated to their Gods. Some such thing *Solomon* had in his eye, when he brings in the Harlot thus courting the young man, *I have Peace-offerings with me, this day have I paid my Vows.* These presents were either made in *specie*, the very money thus unrighteously gotten, or in Sacrifices bought with it, and offered at the Temple, the remainders whereof were taken and sold among the ordinary sacrificial portions. This as it holds the nearest correspondence with the rest of the rites here forbidden, so could it not chuse but be a mighty scandal to the Jews, it being so particularly prohibited in their Law, *Thou shalt not bring the hire of an Whore into the house of the Lord thy God for any Vow, for it is an abomination to the Lord.*

6. THESE prohibitions here laid upon the *Gentiles*, were by the Apostles intended only for a temporary compliance with the Jewish Converts, till they could by degrees be brought off from their stiffness and obduracy, and then the reason of the thing ceasing, the obligation to it must needs cease and fail. Nay, we may observe that even while the Apostolical decree lasted in its greatest force and power, in those places where there were few or no Jewish Converts, the Apostle did not stick to give leave, that except in case of scandal, any kind of meats, even the portions of the *Idol-sacrifices* might be indifferently bought and taken by Christians as well as Heathens. These were all which in order to the satisfaction of the Jews, and for the present peace of the Church the Apostles thought necessary to require of the Converted *Gentiles*, but that for all the rest they were perfectly free from legal observances, obliged only to the commands of Christianity. So that the Apostolical decision that was made of this matter was this,

That

That (besides the temporary observation of those few indifferent rites before mentioned) the belief and practice of the Christian Religion was perfectly sufficient to Salvation, without Circumcision, and the observation of the Mosaic Law.

This Synodical determination allayed the controversy for a while, being joyfully received by the *Gentile-Christians*. But alas, the *Jewish* zeal began again to ferment and spread it self, they could not with any patience endure to see their beloved *Moses* deserted, and those venerable Institutions trodden down, and therefore laboured to keep up their credit, and still to assert them as necessary to Salvation. Than which nothing created *S. Paul* greater trouble at every turn, being forced to contend against these *Judaizing Teachers* almost in every Church where he came, as appears by that great part that they bear in all his Epistles, especially that to the *Romans*, and *Galatians*, where this Heaven had most diffused it self, whom the better to undeceive, he discourses at large of the nature and institution, the end and design, the antiquating and abolishing of that *Mosaic* Covenant, which these Men laid so much stress and weight upon.

7. HENCE then we pass to the third thing considerable for the clearing of this matter, which is to shew, that the main passages in Saint *Paul's* Epistles, concerning Justification and Salvation, have an immediate reference to this controversy. But before we enter upon that, something must necessarily be premised for the explicating some terms and phrases frequently used by our Apostle in this question, these two especially, what he means by *Law*, and what by *Faith*. By *Law* then 'tis plain he usually understands the *Jewish* Law, which was a complex body of Laws, containing *Moral*, *Ceremonial* and *Judicial* Precepts, each of which had its use and office as a great instrument of duty: The *Judicial* Laws being peculiar Statutes accommodated to the state of the *Jews* Commonwealth, as all civil constitutions, restrained Men from the external acts of sin: The *Ceremonial* Laws came somewhat nearer, and besides their *Typical* relation to the *Evangelical* state, by external and symbolical representations signified and exhibited that spiritual impurity, from which Men were to abstain: The *Moral* Laws, founded in the natural notions of Mens minds concerning good and evil, directly urged Men to duty, and prohibited their prevarications. These three made up the intire *Code* and *Pandects* of the *Jewish* Statutes; all which our Apostle comprehends under the general notion of the *Law*, and not the moral Law singly and separately considered, in which sense it never appears that the *Jews* expected justification and salvation by it, nay rather, that they looked for it merely from the observance of the ritual and ceremonial Law: so that the moral Law is no farther considered by him in this question, than as it made up a part of the *Mosaic* Constitution, of that National and *Political* Covenant, which God made with the *Jews* at Mount *Sinai*. Hence the Apostle all along in his discourses constantly opposes the *Law* and the *Gospel*, and the observation of the one to the belief and practice of the other, which surely he would not have done, had he simply intended the moral Law, it being more expressly incorporated into the *Gospel*, than ever it was into the *Law of Moses*. And that the Apostle does thus oppose the *Law* and *Gospel*, might be made evident from the continued series of his discourses; but a few places shall suffice. By what *Law* (says the Apostle) is boasting excluded? by the *Law of works*: i. e. by the *Mosaic* Law, in whose peculiar privileges and prerogatives the *Jews* did strangely flatter and pride themselves? *Nay, but by the Law of Faith*: i. e. by the *Gospel*, or the *Evangelical* way of God's dealing with us. And elsewhere giving an account of this very controversy

Rom. 3. 27.

Gal. 2. 15, 16.

between

between the *Jewish* and *Gentile* Converts, he first opposes their Persons, *Jews* by nature, and sinners of the *Gentiles*, and then infers, that a man is not justified by the works of the *Law*, by those legal observances, whereby the *Jews* expected to be justified, but by the faith of *Christ*, by a hearty belief of, and compliance with that way, which *Christ* has introduced, for by the works of the *Law*, by legal obedience, no flesh, neither Jew, nor *Gentile*, shall now be justified. *Fain would I learn, whether you received the Spirit by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of Faith*: that is, whether you became partakers of the miraculous powers of the Holy Ghost, while you continued under the legal dispensation, or since you embraced the *Gospel*, and the faith of *Christ*: and speaking afterwards of the state of the *Jews* before the revelation of the *Gospel*, says he, before faith came, we were kept under the *Law*, i. e. before the *Gospel* came, we were kept under the Discipline of the legal Oeconomy, *but up unto the faith*, reserved for the discovery of the *Evangelical* dispensation, which should afterwards [in its due time] be revealed to the World. This in the following Chapter he discourses more at large. Tell me ye that desire to be under the *Law*, i. e. Ye *Jews* that so fondly dote upon the legal state, Do ye not bear the *Law*? i. e. Understand what your own *Law* does so clearly intimate: and then goes on to unriddle what was wrapt up in the famous Allegory of *Abraham's* two Sons by his two Wives. The one, *Ishmael*, born of *Hagar*, the Bond-woman, who denoted the *Jewish* Covenant made at Mount *Sinai*, which according to the representation of her condition was a servile state; The other *Isaac*, born of *Sarah*, the Free-woman, was the Son of the promise, denoting *Jerusalem* that is above, and is free, the mother of us all: i. e. The state and covenant of the *Gospel*, whereby all *Christians*, as the spiritual children of *Abraham*, are set free from the bondage of the *Mosaic* dispensation. By all which it is evident, that by *Law* and the works of the *Law*, in this controversy, the Apostle understands the *Law of Moses*, and that obedience which the legal dispensation required at their hands.

8. WE are secondly to enquire, what the Apostle means by *Faith*; and he commonly uses it two ways. 1. More generally for the *Gospel*, or that *Evangelical* way of justification and salvation, which *Christ* has brought in, in opposition to Circumcision, and the observance of those Rites, by which the *Jews* expected to be justified: and this is plain from the preceding opposition, where *Faith*, as denoting the *Gospel*, is frequently opposed to the *Law of Moses*. 2. *Faith* is taken more particularly for a practical belief, or such an assent to the *Evangelical* revelation as produces a sincere obedience to the Laws of it, and indeed as concerned in this matter is usually taken not for this or that single virtue, but for the entire condition of the New Covenant, as comprehending all that duty that it requires of us: than which nothing can be more plain and evident; In *Christ Jesus*, i. e. under the *Gospel*, neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor Uncircumcision; 'tis all one to Justification whether a Man be circumcised or no; What then? but *Faith*, which worketh by love; which afterwards he explains thus, in *Christ Jesus* neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor Uncircumcision, but a new creature, a renewed and divine temper of mind, and a new course and state of life. And left all this should not be thought plain enough, he elsewhere tells us, that Circumcision is nothing, and Uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping the Commandments of God. From which places there needs no skill to infer, that that *Faith* whereby we are justified, contains in it a new disposition and state both of heart and life, and an observance of the Laws of *Christ*; in which respect the Apostle does in the very same Verse expound believing, by obeying of the *Gospel*. Such he assures us was that very *Faith* by which *Abraham*

Gal. 5. 6.

Gal. 5. 15.

1 Cor. 7. 19.

Rom. 10. 15.

U

WES

was justified, who against all probabilities of reason believed in God's promise, *he staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong, &c.* that is, he so firmly believed what God had promised, that he gave him the glory of his truth and faithfulness, his infinite power and ability to do all things. And how did he that: by acting suitably in a way of intire resignation, and sincere obedience to the divine will and pleasure: so the Apostle elsewhere more expressly, *by Faith he obeyed, and went out, not knowing whither he went.* This Faith (he tells us) was imputed to Abraham for righteousness, that is, God by virtue of the New Covenant made in Christ was graciously pleased to look upon this obedience (though in it self imperfect) as that for which he accounted him, and would deal with him as a just and a righteous Man. And upon this account we find Abraham's faith opposed to a perfect and unflinching obedience, for thus the Apostle tells us, that Abraham was justified by faith, in opposition to his being justified by such an absolute and complete obedience, as might have enabled him to challenge the reward by the strict Laws of Justice: whereas now his being pardoned and accepted by God in the way of a mean and imperfect obedience, it could not claim impunity, much less a reward, but must be intirely owing to the Divine grace and favour.

9. HAVING thus cleared our way, by restoring these words to their genuine and native sense, we come to shew, how the Apostle in his discourses does all along refer to the Original controversy between the *Jewish* and *Gentile-Converts*, whether Justification was by the observation of the *Mosaic Law*, or by the belief and practice of the Gospel: and this will appear, if we consider the persons that he has to deal with, the way and manner of his arguing, and that there was then no other controversy on foot, to which these passages could refer. The persons whom he had to deal with, were chiefly of two sorts, pure *Jews*, and *Jewish Converts*. Pure *Jews* were those that kept themselves wholly to the Legal Oeconomy, and expected to be justified and saved in no other way, than the observation of the Law of *Moses*. Indeed they laid a more peculiar stress upon *Circumcision*, because this having been added as the Seal of that Covenant which God made with Abraham, and the discriminating badge whereby they were to be distinguished from all other Nations, they looked upon it as having a special efficacy in it to recommend them to the Divine acceptance. Accordingly we find in their Writings that they make this the main Basis and Foundation of their hope and confidence towards God. For they tell us, that the Precept of Circumcision is greater than all the rest, and equivalent to the whole Law, that the reason why God hears the Prayers of the *Israelites*, but not *Gentiles or Christians*, is *המילה בוכות* for the virtue and merit of Circumcision; yea that *so great is the power and efficacy of the Law of Circumcision*, that no man that is circumcised shall go to Hell.

Nay, according to the idle and trifling humour of these Men, they fetch down Abraham from the Seat of the Blessed, and place him as Porter at the Gates of Hell, upon no other errand than to keep circumcised Persons from entering into that miserable place. However nothing is more evident, than that Circumcision was the Fort and Sanctuary wherein they ordinarily placed their security, and accordingly we find S. Paul frequently disputing against Circumcision, as virtually comprizing, in their notion, the keeping of the whole *Jewish Law*. Besides, to these literal impositions of the Law of *Moses*, the *Pharisees* had added many vain *Traditions* and several superstitious usages of their own contrivance, in the observance whereof the People plac'd not a little confidence, as to that righteousness upon which they hoped to stand

stand clear with Heaven. Against all these our Apostle argues, and sometimes by arguments peculiar to them alone. *Jewish Converts* were those, who having embraced the Christian Religion, did yet out of a veneration to their ancient Rites, make the observance of them equally necessary with the belief and practice of Christianity both to themselves and others. These last were the Persons, who as they first started the controversy, so were those against whom the Apostle mainly oppos'd himself, endeavouring to dismount their pretences, and to beat down their Opinions level with the ground.

10. THIS will yet farther appear from the way and manner of the Apostles arguing, which plainly respects this controversy, and will be best seen in some particular instances of his reasonings. And first, he argues, that this way of justification urged by *Jews* and *Jewish Converts* was inconsistent with the goodness of God, and his universal kindness to Mankind, being so narrow and limited, that it excluded the far greatest part of the World. Thus in the three first Chapters of his Epistle to the *Romans* having proved at large that *the whole World*, both *Jew* and *Gentile* were under a state of guilt, and consequently liable to the Divine sentence and condemnation, he comes next to enquire by what means they may be delivered from this state of vengeance, and shews that it could not be by legal observances, but that now there was a way of righteousness or justification declared by Christ in the Gospel (intimated also in the Old Testament) extending to all, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, whereby God with respect to the satisfaction and expiation of Christ is ready freely to pardon and justify all penitent believers: That therefore there was a way revealed in the Gospel, whereby a Man might be justified, without being beholden to the rites of the *Jewish Law*, otherwise it would argue that God had very little care of the greatest part of Men. *Is he God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: Seeing it is one God, which shall justify the Circumcision by Faith, and the uncircumcision through Faith, Jew and Gentile in the same Evangelical way.* The force of which argument lies in this, That that cannot be necessary to our justification, which excludes the greatest part of Mankind from all possibility of being justified (and this justification by the *Mosaic Law* plainly does) a thing by no means consistent with God's universal love and kindness to his Creatures. Hence the Apostle magnifies the grace of the Gospel, that it has broken down the partition-wall, and made way for all Nations to come in, that now there is neither Greek nor Jew, Circumcision nor uncircumcision, Gal. 3. 28. *Barbarian nor Scythian*, no difference in this respect, but all one in Christ Jesus, Col. 3. 11. all equally admitted to terms of pardon and justification, in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness being accepted with him. A8. 10. 35.

11. SECONDLY, He argues, that this *Jewish* way of justification could not be indispensably necessary, in that it had not been the constant way whereby good Men in all Ages had been justified and accepted with Heaven. This he eminently proves from the instance of Abraham, whom the Scripture sets forth as the Father of the faithful, and the great Exemplar of that way, wherein all his spiritual seed, all true Believers were to be justified. Now of him 'tis evident, that he was justified and accepted with God upon his practical belief of God's power and promise, before ever Circumcision, and much more before the rest of the *Mosaic Institution* was in being. *Cometh this blessedness then upon the Circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also? For we say that Faith was reckoned unto Abraham for righteousness. How was it then reckoned, when he was in Circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in Circumcision, but in uncircumcision. And he received the sign of Circumcision,* Rom. 4. 9, 10, 11, &c.

Heb. 11. 8.
Rom. 4. 22.

Rom. 4. 2, 3.
&c.

Rom. 3. 20,
21, &c.

Gal. 3. 28.
Col. 3. 11.

* גורל כוח
מחמלה
שכל מי
שחול
אין יורר
לגונם
Cad. Haktem.
ap. Excerpt. P.
p. 1. ad Syn. Jud.
|| Synag. Jud.
c. 4 p. 87.

a seal of the righteousness of the faith, which he had being yet uncircumcised, &c. The meaning whereof is plainly this, That pardon of sin cannot be entailed upon the way of the *Mosaic* Law, it being evident, that *Abraham* was justified and approved of God, before he was Circumcised, which was only added as a seal of the Covenant between God and him, and a testimony of that acceptance with God, which he had obtained before. And this way of God's dealing with *Abraham*, and in him with all his spiritual children, the legal Institution could not make void, it being impossible that dispensation which came so long after should disannul the Covenant which God had made with *Abraham* and his spiritual seed CCCCXXX. Years before. Upon this account, as the Apostle observes, the Scripture sets forth *Abraham* as the great type and pattern of Justification, as the Father of all them that believe, though they be not Circumcised, that righteousness might be imputed to them also, and the father of Circumcision, to them who are not of the Circumcision only, but also walk in the steps of that Faith of our Father *Abraham*, which he had being yet uncircumcised. They therefore that are of Faith, the same are the children of *Abraham*: And the Scripture foretelling that God would justify the Heathen through Faith, preached before the Gospel (this Evangelical way of justifying) unto *Abraham*, saying, In thee shall all Nations be blessed. So then they which be of Faith, who believe and obey, as *Abraham* did, shall be blessed, pardoned and saved, with faithful *Abraham*. It might farther be demonstrated that this has ever been God's method of dealing with Mankind, our Apostle in the eleventh Chapter to the *Hebrews*, proving all along by particular instances, that it was by such a Faith as this, without any relation to the Law of *Moses*, that good men were justified and accepted with God in all Ages of the World.

12. THIRDLY, He argues against this Jewish way of Justification from the deficiency and imperfection of the *Mosaic* Oeconomy, not able to justify and save sinners. Deficient, as not able to assist those that were under it with sufficient aids to perform what it required of them, *This the Law could not do, for that it was weak through the flesh, till God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, to enable us, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.* And indeed could the Law have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the Law: But alas! the Scripture having concluded all Mankind, Jew and Gentile, under sin, and consequently incapable of being justified upon terms of perfect and intire obedience, there is now no other way but this, That the promise by the Faith of *Christ* be given to all them that believe, i.e. this Evangelical method of justifying sincere believers. Besides, the Jewish Oeconomy was deficient in pardoning sin, and procuring the grace and favour of God, it could only awaken the knowledge of sin, not remove the guilt of it: *It was not possible that the blood of Bulls and Goats should take away sin; all the sacrifices of the Mosaic Law were no farther available for the pardon of Sin, than merely as they were founded in, and had respect to that great sacrifice and expiation, which was to be made for the sins of Mankind by the death of the Son of God. The Priests, though they daily ministered, and oftentimes offered the same sacrifices, yet could they never take away sin:* No, that was reserved for a better and a higher sacrifice, even that of our Lord himself, who after he had offered one sacrifice for Sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God, having completed that, which the repeated sacrifices of the Law could never effect. So that all Men being under guilt, and no justification, where there was no remission, the Jewish Oeconomy being in it self unable to pardon, was incapable to justify. This S. Paul elsewhere declared

Gal. 3: 17.

Rom. 4: 11, 12.

Gal. 3: 7, 8, 9.

Rom. 8: 3, 4.

Gal. 3: 21.

Heb. 10: 4.

Heb. v. 11, 12.

clared in an open Assembly before Jews and Gentiles; be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man [*Christ Jesus*] is preached unto you forgiveness of Sins: And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the Law of *Moses*. Ad. 13: 38, 39.

13. FOURTHLY, He proves that Justification by the *Mosaic* Law could not stand with the death of *Christ*, the necessity of whose death and sufferings it did plainly evacuate and take away. For if righteousness come by the Law, then *Christ* is dead in vain: If the *Mosaic* performances be still necessary to our Justification, then certainly it was to very little purpose, and altogether unbecoming the wisdom and goodness of God, to send his own Son into the World, to do so much for us, and to suffer such exquisite pains and tortures. Nay, he tells them, that while they persisted in this fond obdurate opinion, all that *Christ* had done and suffered could be of no advantage to them. Stand fast in the liberty wherewith *Christ* has made us free, and be not again intangled in the yoke of bondage, the bondage and servitude of the *Mosaic* rites; Behold I Paul solemnly say unto you, That if you be Circumcised, *Christ* shall profit you nothing: For I testify again to every man that is Circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole Law; *Christ* is become of none effect to you; whoever of you are justified by the Law, ye are fallen from grace. Gal. 2: 21. Gal. 5: 1, 2, 3, 4.

The sum of which argument is; That whoever lay the stress of their Justification upon Circumcision, and the observances of the Law, do thereby declare themselves to be under an obligation of perfect obedience to all that the Law requires of them, and accordingly supersede the virtue and efficacy of *Christ's* death, and disclaim all right and title to the grace and favour of the Gospel. For since *Christ's* death is abundantly sufficient to attain its ends, whoever takes in another, plainly renounces that, and rests upon that of his own chusing. By these ways of reasoning 'tis evident what the Apostle drives at in all his discourses about this matter. More might have been observed, had I not thought, that these are sufficient to render his design, especially to the unprejudiced and impartial, obvious and plain enough.

14. LASTLY, That S. Paul's discourses about Justification and Salvation do immediately refer to the controversy between the *Orthodox* and *Judaizing* Christians, appears hence, that there was no other controversy then on foot, but concerning the way of Justification, whether it was by the observation of the Law of *Moses*, or only of the Gospel and the Law of *Christ*. For we must needs suppose, that the Apostle wrote with a primary respect to the present state of things, and so as they whom he had to deal with, might, and could not but understand him: Which yet would have been impossible for them to have done, had he intended them for the controversies which have since been bandied with so much zeal and fierceness, and to give countenance to those many nice and subtle propositions, those curious and elaborate schemes which some Men in these later Ages have drawn of these matters.

15. FROM the whole discourse two *Consequentials* especially plainly follow. I. *Consect.* That works of Evangelical obedience are not opposed to Faith in Justification. By works of Evangelical obedience, I mean such Christian duties, as are the fruits, not of our own power and strength, but God's Spirit, done by the assistance of his grace. And that these are not opposed to Faith, is undeniably evident, in that (as we observed before) Faith as including the new nature, and the keeping God's commands, is made the usual condition of Justification. Nor can it be otherwise, when other graces and virtues of the Christian life are made the terms of pardon and acceptance

Acts 2. 38. ceptance with Heaven, and of our title to the merits of *Christ's* death, and the great promise of eternal life. Thus Repentance, which is not so much a single Act, as a complex body of Christian duties, *Repent and be baptized in the Name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost; Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out.* So Acts 3. 17. Mark 11. 25, 26. *Charity and forgiveness of others, Forgive, if ye have ought against any, that your Father also which is in Heaven may forgive you your trespasses: For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father also will forgive you: But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive yours.* Sometimes Rom. 6. 14, 15. Evangelical obedience in general; *God is no respecter of persons, but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him. If we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanses us from all sin.* What privilege then has Faith above other graces in this matter? are we justified by Faith? We are pardoned and accepted with God upon our repentance, charity and other acts of Evangelical obedience. Is Faith opposed to the works of the I Cor. 7. 19. *Mosaic Law in Justification? so are works of Evangelical obedience; Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the Commandments of God.* Does Faith give glory to God, and set the Crown upon his head? Works of Evangelical obedience are equally the effects of Divine grace, both preventing and assisting of us, and indeed are not so much our works as his: so that the glory of all must needs be intirely resolved into the grace of God, nor can any man in such circumstances with the least pretence of reason lay claim to merit, or boast of his own achievements. Hence the Apostle magnifies the Evangelical method of Justification above that of the Law, that it wholly excludes all proud reflexions upon our selves; Rom. 3. 27. *Where is boasting then? it is excluded. By what Law? of works? Nay, but by the Law of Faith.* The *Mosaic* Oeconomy fostered men up in proud and high thoughts of themselves, they looked upon themselves as a peculiar People, honoured above all other Nations of the World, the seed of *Abraham*, invested with mighty privileges, &c. Whereas the Gospel proceeding upon other principles, takes away all foundations of pride, by acknowledging our acceptance with God, and the power whereby we are enabled to make good the terms and conditions of it, to be the mere result of the Divine grace and mercy, and that the whole scheme of our Salvation, as it was the contrivance of the Divine wisdom, so is the purchase of the merit and satisfaction of our crucified Saviour. Nor is Faith it self less than other graces an act of Evangelical obedience, and if separated from them, is of no moment or value in the accounts of Heaven: *Though I have all Faith, and have no Charity, I am nothing. All Faith, be it of what kind soever.* To this may be added, that no tolerable account can be given, why that which is on all hands granted to be the condition of our Salvation (such is Evangelical obedience) should not be the condition of our Justification: And at the great Day Christians shall be acquitted or condemned according as in this World they have fulfilled or neglected the conditions of the Gospel: The decretory sentence of absolution that shall then be passed upon good men, shall be nothing but a publick and solemn declaration of that private sentence of Justification that was passed upon them in this World; so that upon the same terms that they are justified now, they shall be justified and acquitted then, and upon the same terms that they shall then be judged and acquitted, they are justified now, viz. an hearty belief, and a sincere obedience to the Gospel. From all which, I hope, 'tis evident, that when *S. Paul* denies men to be justified by the works of the Law; by works he either means works done

done before conversion, and by the strength of Mens natural powers, such as enabled them to pride and boast themselves, and lay claim to merit, or (which most what includes the other) the works of the *Mosaic* Law. And indeed though the controversies on foot in those times did not plainly determine his reasonings that way, yet the considerations which we have now suggested, sufficiently shew that they could not be meant of any other sense.

16. CONJECT. II. *That the doctrines of S. Paul and S. James about Justification are fairly consistent with each other.* For seeing *S. Paul's* design in excluding works from Justification, was only to deny the works of the Jewish Law, or those that were meritorious, as being wrought by our own strength, and in asserting that in opposition to such works we are justified by Faith, he meant no more than that either we are justified in an Evangelical way, or more particularly by Faith intended a practical belief, including Evangelical obedience: And seeing on the other hand *S. James* in affirming that we are justified by Works, and not by Faith only; by Works, means no more than Evangelical obedience, in opposition to a naked and an empty Faith; these two are so far from quarrelling, that they mutually embrace each other, and both in the main pursue the same design. And indeed if any disagreement seem between them, 'tis most reasonable that *S. Paul* should be expounded by *S. James*, not only because his propositions are so exprefs and positive, and not justly liable to ambiguity, but because he wrote some competent time after the other, and consequently as he perfectly understood his meaning, so he was capable to countermince those ill principles, which some men had built upon *S. Paul's* assertions. For 'tis evident from several passages in *S. Paul's* Epistles, that even then many began to mistake his doctrine, and from his assertions about Justification by Faith, and not by Works, to infer propositions that might serve the purposes of a bad life; *They slanderously reported him to say, that we might do evil, that good might come; that we might continue in sin, that the grace of the Gospel might the more abound:* They thought that so long as they did but believe the Gospel in the naked notion and speculation of it, it was enough to recommend them to the favour of God, and to serve all the purposes of Justification and Salvation, however they shaped and steered their lives. Against these men 'tis beyond all question plain, that *S. James* levels his Epistle, to batter down the growing doctrines of Libertinism and Profaneness, to shew the insufficiency of a naked Faith, and an empty profession of Religion, that 'tis not enough to recommend us to the Divine acceptance, and to justify us in the sight of Heaven, barely to believe the Gospel, unless we really obey and practise it; that a Faith destitute of this Evangelical obedience is fruitless and unprofitable to Salvation; that 'tis by these works that Faith must appear to be vital and sincere; that not only *Rahab*, but *Abraham* the Father of the faithful, was justified not by a bare belief of God's promise, but an hearty obedience to God's command, in the ready offer of his Son, whereby it appears that his Faith and obedience did co-operate and conspire together, to render him capable of God's favour and approbation, and that herein the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith, that *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness*, (whence by the way nothing can be clearer, than that both these Apostles intend the same thing by Faith in the case of *Abraham's* Justification, and its being imputed to him for righteousness, viz. a practical belief and obedience to the commands of God) that it follows hence, that Faith is not of it self sufficient to justify and make us acceptable to God, unless a proportionable Obedience be joined with it; without which

Rom. 3. 2.
Rom. 3. 11.

Vid. Chap. 2.
v. 14, 15, &
644.

which Faith serves no more to these ends and purposes, than a Body destitute of the Soul to animate and enliven it, is capable to exercise the functions and offices of the natural life. His meaning in short being nothing else, than that good works, or Evangelical obedience is, according to the Divine appointment, the condition of the Gospel-covenant, without which 'tis in vain for any to hope for that pardon which *Christ* hath purchased, and the favour of God, which is necessary to Eternal Life.

The End of S. Paul's Life.

THE

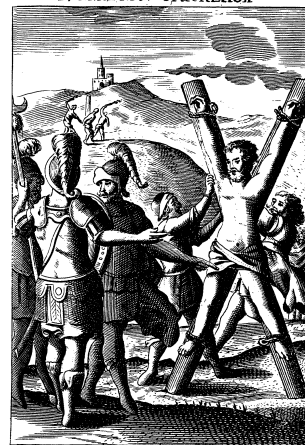
THE LIFE OF S. ANDREW.

S. ANDREW.



He was fastened to a Cross (since distinguished by his name) by the Proconful at Patræ a City of Achaia: from which he preached several dayes to the Spectators. *S. Hierom. Baron. Nov. 29.*

St. Andrew's Crucifixion



Matth 23. 34. Behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men and scribes, and some of them ye shall kill & crucify, and some of them ye shall scourge in your synagogues and persecute them from City to City.

The Sacred History Sparing in the Acts of the succeeding Apostles, and why. S. Andrew's Birth-place, Kindred, and way of Life. John the Baptist's Ministry and Discipline. S. Andrew educated under his Institution. His coming to Christ, and Call to be a Disciple. His Election to the Apostolate. The Province assigned for his Ministry. In what places he chiefly preached. His barbarous usage at Sinope. His planting Christianity at Byzantium, and ordaining Stachys Bishop there. His travels in Greece, and preaching at Patræ in Achaia. His Arraignment before the Proconful, and resolute defence of the Christian Religion. The Proconful's displeasure against him, whence.

X

whence.

treated him with all the instances of savage cruelty, throwing him to the ground, stamping upon him with their Feet, pulling and dragging him from place to place, some beating him with Clubs, others pelting him with stones, and some the better to satisfy their revenge, biting off his Flesh with their Teeth; till apprehending they had fully dispatched him, they cast him out of the City. But he miraculously recovered, and publicly returned into the City, whereby and by some other Miracles, which he wrought amongst them, he reduced many to a better mind, converting them to the Faith. Departing hence, he went again to *Amyzus*, and then to *Trapezus*, thence to *Neocaesarea*; and to *Samofata* (the birth-place of the witty but impious *Lucian*) where having baffled the acute and wife Philosophers, he purposed to return to *Jerusalem*. Whence after some time he betook himself to his former Provinces, travelling to the Country of the *Abasgi*, where at *Sebastople*, situate upon the *Eastern* shore of the *Euxine* Sea, between the influx of the Rivers *Phasis* and *Asparus*, he successfully preached the Gospel to the Inhabitants of that City. Hence he removed into the Country of the *Zecchi*, and the *Bosphorani*, part of the *Asiatick Scythia* or *Sarmatia*, but finding the Inhabitants very barbarous and intractable, he staid not long among them, only at *Cherson*, or *Chersonesus*, a great and populous City within the *Bosphorus*, he continued some time, instructing and confirming them in the Faith. Hence taking Ship he sailed cross the Sea to *Sinope*, situate in *Paplagonia*, the royal Seat of the great King *Mithridates*, to encourage and confirm the Churches which he had lately planted in those parts, and here he ordained *Philologus*, formerly one of *S. Paul's* Disciples, Bishop of that City.

4. HENCE he came to *Byzantium* (since called *Constantinople*) where he instructed them in the knowledge of the Christian Religion, founded a Church for Divine Worship, and ordained *Stachys* (whom *S. Paul* calls his beloved *Stachys*) first Bishop of that place. * *Baronius* indeed is unwilling to believe this, desirous to engross the honour of it to *S. Peter*, whom he will have to have been the first Planter of Christianity in these parts. But besides that *Baronius* his authority is very slight and insignificant in this case (as we have before noted in *S. Peter's* Life) this matter is expressly asserted not only by *Nicephorus* || *Callistus*, but by another * *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and who therefore may be presumed knowing in his Predecessors in that See. Banished out of the City by him, who at that time usurped the Government, he fled to *Argyropolis*, a place near at hand, where he

preached the Gospel for two Years together with good success, converting great Numbers to the Faith. After this he travelled over *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*: || *Nazianzen* adds *Epyrus*, in all which places for many Years he preached and propagated Christianity, and confirmed the Doctrine that he taught with great signs and miracles: at last he came to *Patrae* a City of *Achaia*, where he gave his last and great testimony to it, I mean, laid down his own Life to ratify and ensure it, in describing whose Martyrdom, we shall for the main follow the account that is given us in the *Acts* of his * *Passion*, pretended to have been written by the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* of *Achaia*, present at his Martyrdom; which, though I dare not with some assert to be the genuine work of those persons, yet can it not be denied to be of considerable antiquity, being mentioned by || *Philastrius*, who flourished Anno 380. and were no-doubt written long before his time. The sum of it is this.

* Ad An. 44.
N. 31. vid. ad
An. 314. n. 24.
95. &c.

|| H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39. l. 5. c. 6. p. 540.
Ανδρέας ὁ ἀποστόλος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἁγίου
κηρύκτης ἀποβὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀργυροπόλεως
ἀφυστάσας ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσὸν καὶ αὐτῇ πόλει
ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ ἔμισεν (1 τὴν) ἐν τῇ πόλει Ποσειδὸν
ἐπιστάτην. Niceph. C. P. in Chronogr. a Scal. edit.
p. 309. vid. etiam Nien. Grac. ubi sup.

|| Orat. 25.
p. 438.

* Extant apud
Sur. ad diem
30. Novemb.
p. 653.

|| De Harv.
c. 89.

5. ÆGEAS *Proconsul* of *Achaia*, came at this time to *Patrae*, where observing that multitudes were fallen off from Paganism, and had embraced Christianity, he endeavoured by all arts both of favour and cruelty to reduce the People to their old Idolatries. To him the Apostle resolutely makes his address, calmly puts him in mind, that he being but a judge of men should own and revere him, who was the supreme and impartial Judge of all, that he should give him that Divine honour which was due to him, and leave off the impieties of his false Heathen-worship. The *Proconsul* derided him as an Innovator in Religion, a propagator of that superstition, whose Author the Jews had infamously put to death upon a Cross. Hereat the Apostle took occasion to discourse to him of the infinite love and kindness of our Lord, who came into the World to purchase the Salvation of Mankind, and for that end did not disdain to die upon the Cross. To whom the *Proconsul* answered, that he might persuade them so, that would believe him; for his part, if he did not comply with him in doing sacrifice to the Gods, he would cause him to suffer upon that Cross, which he had so much extolled and magnified. *S. Andrew* replied, That he did sacrifice every day to God, the only true and omnipotent Being, not with fumes and bloody Offerings, but in the sacrifice of the immaculate Lamb of God. The issue was, the Apostle was committed to prison, whereat the people were so enraged, that it had broken out into a mutiny, had not the Apostle restrained them, persuading them to imitate the mildness and patience of our meek humble Saviour, and not to hinder him from that crown of Martyrdom that now waited for him.

6. THE next day he was again brought before the *Proconsul*, who persuaded him that he would not foolishly destroy himself, but live and enjoy with him the pleasures of this life. The Apostle told him, that he should have with him eternal joys, if renouncing his execrable idolatries, he would heartily entertain Christianity, which he had hitherto so successfully preached amongst them. That, answered the *Proconsul*, is the very reason, why I am so earnest with you to sacrifice to the Gods, that those whom you have every-where seduced, may by your example be brought to return back to that ancient Religion, which they have forsaken: Otherwise I'll cause you with exquisite tortures to be crucified. The Apostle replied, That now he saw it was in vain any longer to deal with him, a person incapable of sober counsels, and hardened in his own blindness and folly; that as for himself, he might doe his worst, and if he had one torment greater than another, he might heap that upon him: The greater constancy he shewed in his sufferings for *Christ*, the more acceptable he should be to his Lord and Master. Ægeas could now hold no longer, but passed the sentence of death upon him; and * *Nicephorus* gives us some more particular account of the *Proconsul's* displeasure and rage against him, which was, that amongst others he had converted his wife *Maximilla*, and his brother *Stratocles* to the Christian Faith, having cured them of desperate distempers that had seized upon them.

7. THE *Proconsul* first commanded him to be scourged, seven *Lictors* successively whipping his naked body; and seeing his invincible patience and constancy, commanded him to be crucified, but not to be fastned to the Cross with Nails, but Cords, that so his death might be more lingering and tedious. As he was led to execution, to which he went with a cheerful and composed mind, the People cried out, that he was an innocent and good man, and unjustly condemned to die. Being come within sight of the

Bern. Ser. 2.
de S. And.
p. 327.

Cross, he saluted it with this kind of address, That he had long desired and expected this happy hour, that the Cross had been consecrated by the body of *Christ* hanging on it, and adorned with his Members as with so many inestimable Jewels, that he came joyfull and triumphing to it, that it might receive him as a disciple and follower of him, who once hung upon it, and be the means to carry him safe unto his Master, having been the instrument upon which his Master had redeemed him. Having prayed, and exhorted the people to constancy and perseverance in that Religion which he had delivered to them, he was fastned to the Cross, whereon he hung two days, teaching and instructing the people all the time, and when great importunities in the mean while were used to the *Proconsul* to spare his life, he earnestly begged of our Lord, that he might at this time depart and seal the truth of his Religion with his blood. God heard his prayer, and he immediately expired on the last of *November*, though in what year no certain account can be recovered.

8. THERE seems to have been something peculiar in that *Cross* that was the instrument of his Martyrdom, commonly affirmed to have been a *Cross decussate*, two pieces of Timber crossing each other in the middle, in the form of the Letter X, hence usually known by the name of *S. Andrew's Cross*; though there want not * those, who affirm him to have been crucified upon an Olive Tree. His body being taken down and embalmed, was decently and honourably interred by *Maximilla*, a Lady of great quality and estate, and whom *Nicephorus*, I know not upon what ground, makes wife to the *Proconsul*. As for that report of || *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*, that on the Anniversary day of his Martyrdom, there was wont to flow from *S. Andrew's* Tomb a most fragrant and pretious Oil, which according to its quantity denoted the scarceness or plenty of the following year; and that the sick being anointed with this Oil, were restored to their former health, I leave to the Reader's discretion, to believe what he please of it. For my part, if any ground of truth in the story, I believe it no more, than that it was an exhalation and sweating forth at some times of those rich costly perfumes and ointments wherewith his body was embalmed after his crucifixion. Though I must confess this conjecture to be impossible, if it be true what my *Author* adds, that some years the Oil burst out in such plenty, that the stream arose to the middle of the Church. His Body was afterwards, by *Constantine* the

* Great, solemnly removed to *Constantinople*, and buried in the great Church, which he had built to the honour of the Apostles: Which being taken down some hundred years after by || *Justinian* the Emperour, in order to its reparation, the Body was found in a Wooden-Coffin, and again reposed in its proper place.

9. I SHALL conclude the History of this Apostle with that Encomiastick Character, which one of the * Ancients gives of him. "S. *Andrew* was the first-born of the Apostolick Quire, the main and prime pillar of the Church, a rock before the rock (*ὁ πρῶτος λίθος τῆς ἐκκλησίας*) the foundation of that foundation, the first-fruits of the beginning, a caller of others before he was called himself; he preached that Gospel that was not yet believed or entertained, revealed and made known that life to his brother, which he had not yet perfectly learn'd himself. So great treasures did that one question bring him, *Master, where dwellest thou?* which he soon perceived by the Answer given him, and which he deeply pondered in his mind, *Come and see*. How art thou become a Prophet? whence thus Divinely skillfull? what is it that thou thus foundest in *Peter's* ears? [We have

"found him, &c.] why dost thou attempt to compass him, whom thou canst not comprehend? how can he be found, who is omnipresent? But he knew well what he said: We have found him, whom *Adam* lost, whom *Eve* injured, whom the clouds of sin have hidden from us, and whom our transgressions had hitherto made a stranger to us, &c. So that of all our Lord's Apostles *S. Andrew* had thus far the honour to be the first Preacher of the Gospel.

The End of S. Andrew's Life.

THE

* Chrysoft. in *S. Andr. Serm.* 133. p. 120. Hippel. Comment. *MS. Gr.* ap. *Eur. Not. in Martyr.* ad 30. *Novemb.* || *De Glor. Martyr. lib. 1. c. 31.* p. 37.

* Hieron. *adv. Vigil.* p. 122. 72. || *Procop. de aedif. Justin. lib. 1.*

* Hefych. *Presb. Hierosolym.* apud *Phoc. Cod.* CCLXIX. *Cod.* 1488.

THE LIFE OF S. JAMES the Great.



He being the Son of Zebedee was at the Command of Herod beheaded at Hierusalem.



Act. 12. 2. About that time Herod the King stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church, and he killed James the brother of John with the sword.

S. James, why firnamed the Great. His Country and Kindred. His alliance to Christ. His Trade and way of Life. Our Lord brought up to a Manual Trade. The quick repartee of a Christian Schoolmaster to Libanius. His being called to be a Disciple, and great readines to follow Christ. His election to the Apostolick Office, and peculiar favours from Christ. Why our Lord chose some few of the Apostles to be witnesses of the more private passages of his life. The imposition of a new name at his election to the Apostleship. He and his Brother styled Boanerges, and why. The zeal and activity of their temper. Their ambition to sit on Christ's right and left hand in his Kingdom, and confident promise of suffering. This is repented by the rest. Our Lord's discourse concerning

cerning the nature of the Evangelical State. Where he preached after Christ's Ascension. The story of his going into Spain exploded. Herod Agrippa in favour with the Roman Emperours. The character of his temper. His zeal for the Law of Moses. His condemning S. James to death. The sudden conversion of his Accuser, as he was led to Martyrdom. Their being beheaded. The story of his Accuser, as he was led to Martyrdom. Their being beheaded. The Divine Justice that pursued Herod. His grandeur and arrogance at Caesarea. His miserable death. The story of the Translation of S. James his Corps to Compostella in Spain, and the Miracles said to be done there.

Mark i. 20.

*H. Eccl. lib. 2.
c. 3. p. 135.*

* *Apud Kirsten de vit. Quat. Evangel. p. 47. John 19. 25.*

1. **S**AINTE James furnished the Great, either because of his Age, being much elder than the other, or for some peculiar honours and favours which our Lord conferred upon him, was by Country a Galilean, born, probably, either at Capernaum, or Bethsaida, being one of Simon Peter's Partners in the Trade of Fishing. He was the Son of Zebedai, or Zebedee, (and probably the same whom the Jews mention in their Talmud, רבי זבדי, *Rabbi James*, or *Jacob the Son of Zebedee*) a Fisherman, and the many servants which he kept for that employment (a circumstance not taken notice of in any other) speak him a man of some more considerable note in that Trade and way of life; ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ μετονόμασται Ἄνδρᾶν, as Nicæporus notes. His Mother's name was Mary, iurnamed Salome, as called first Ταυβιλία, says an ancient Arabic* writer, the Daughter, as is most probable, not Wife of Cleopas, Sister to Mary the Mother of our Lord; not her own Sister properly so called (the Blessed Virgin being in all likelihood an only Daughter) but Cousin-german, styled her Sister, according to the mode and custom of the Jews, who were wont to call all such near relations by the names of *Brothers* and *Sisters*; and in this respect he had the honour of a near relation to our Lord himself. His education was in the Trade of Fishing; no employment is base, that's honest and industrious, nor can it be thought mean and dishonourable to him, when it is remembered, that our Lord himself, the Son of God, stoop'd so low, as not only to become the [reputed] Son of a Carpenter, but during the retirements of his private life, to work himself at his Father's Trade, not devoting himself merely to contemplations, nor withdrawing from all useful society with the World, and hiding himself in the solitudes of an Anchorite, but busying himself in an active course of life, working at the Trade of a Carpenter, and particularly (as one of the * Ancients tells us) making *Floungs* and *Tokes*. And this the Sacred History does not only plainly intimate, but it is generally asserted by the Ancient Writers of the || Church: A thing so notorious, that the Heathens used to object it as the approach to Christianity. Thence that smart and acute * *repartee* which a Christian Schoolmaster made to Libanius the famous Orator *at Antioch*, when upon Julian's expedition into Persia (where he was killed) he asked in scorn, *what the Carpenter's Son was now a-doing*. The Christian replied with salt enough, That the great Artificer of the World, whom he scoffingly called the *Carpenter's Son*, was making a Coffin for his Master Julian; the news of whose death was brought soon after. But this only by the way.

Mark 6. 3.

Matth. 13: 55.

* Γεν/ων νομα
2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2.

28. ଅନ୍ତର୍ଜାତୀୟ

ἔργα εἰργάζετο

၆၄ ခုအားပါး ၆၄

အရှင်နာမိနှင့် နှစ်ဦးစွာ
ပျော်ရွှင်စွာ နေကြပါစေ။

இந்த நூலில்
இந்த நூலில்

σύμβολα διδά

κω², κ¹ ενεργ²
 α¹ I. Μαρτ

Clov. J. Marc
dial. cum Try

p. 316.

|| Καὶ τὸ πρῶτον

την ἡλικίαν τῆς

Bas. Constit. .

* Theod.

100

The Life of S. JAMES the Great.

the blessings of Heaven meet men in the way of an honest and industrious diligence, it was in the exercise of this calling, when our Saviour passing by the Sea of *Galilee*, saw him and his brother in the Ship, and called them to be his Disciples. A Divine power went along with the word, which they no sooner heard, but cheerfully complied with it, immediately leaving all to follow him. They did not stay to dispute his commands, to argue the probability of his promise, solicitously to enquire into the minute consequences of the undertaking, what troubles and hazards might attend this new employment, but readily delivered up themselves to whatever services he should appoint them. And the cheerfulness of their obedience is yet farther considerable, that they left their aged Father in the Ship behind them. For elsewhere we find others excusing themselves from an immediate attendance upon Christ, upon pretence that they must go bury their Father, or take their leave of their kindred at home. No such slight and trivial pretences could stop the resolution of our Apostles, who broke through these considerations, and quitted their present interests and relations. Say not it was unnaturally done of them to desert their Father, an aged person, and in some measure unable to help himself. For, besides that they left servants with him to attend him, it is not cruelty to our Earthly, but obedience to our Heavenly Father, to leave the one, that we may comply with the call and summons of the other. It was the triumph of *Abraham's* Faith, when God called him to leave his kindred and his Father's house, *to go out*, and sojourn in a foreign Country, *not knowing whither he went*. Nor can we doubt but that *Zebedee* himself would have gone along with them, had not his Age given him a *Superfedeas* from such an active and ambulatory course of life. But though they left him at this time, it's very reasonable to suppose, that they took care to instruct him in the doctrine of the *Messiah*, and to acquaint him with the glad tidings of Salvation, especially since we find their Mother *Salome* so hearty a friend to, so constant a follower of our Saviour: But this (if we may believe the account which one gives of it) was after her Husband's decease, who probably lived not long after, dying before the time of our Saviour's Passion.

Luk. 9. 59---61.

Zachar. Chrysol. pol. Comm. in Concord. Evang. p. 111.

3. IT was not long after this, that he was called from the station of an ordinary Disciple, to the Apostolick Office, and not onely so, but honoured with some peculiar acts of favour beyond most of the Apostles, being one of the Three, whom our Lord usually made choice of to admit to the more intimate transactions of his life, from which the others were excluded. Thus with *Peter* and his Brother *John* he was taken to the miraculous raising of *Jairus* his Daughter; admitted to *Christs* glorious transfiguration upon the Mount, and the discourses that there passed between him and the two great Ministers of Heaven; taken along with him into the Garden, to be a Spectator of those bitter Agonies, which the Holy *Jesus* was to undergo as the preparatory sufferings in his Passion. What were the reasons of our Lord's admitting these three Apostles to these more special acts of favour than the rest, is not easie to determine: though surely our Lord, who governed all his actions by Principles of the highest prudence and reason, did it for wise and proper ends; whether it was that he designed these three to be more solemn and peculiar witnesses of some particular passages of his life, than the other Apostles, or that they would be more eminently usefull and serviceable in some parts of the Apostolick Office, or that hereby he would the better prepare and encourage them against suffering, as intending them for some more eminent kinds of Martyrdom or suffering, than the rest were to undergo.

$$Y_2$$

4. NOR

4. NOR was it the least instance of that particular honour which our Lord conferr'd upon these three Apostles, that at his calling them to the *Apostolate* he gave them the addition of a new Name and Title. A thing not unusual of old, for God to impose a new Name upon Persons, when designing them for some great and peculiar services and employments; thus he did to *Abraham* and *Jacob*. Nay, the thing was customary among the *Gentiles*, as had we no other instances, might appear from those which the Scripture gives us, of *Pharaoh's* giving a new name to *Joseph*, when advancing him to be *Vice-Roy of Egypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Daniel*, &c. Thus did our Lord in the Election of these three Apostles, *Simon* he surnamed *Peter*, *James* the *Son of Zebedee*, and *John* his Brother he surnamed *Boanerges*, which is, the *Sons of Thunder*. What our Lord particularly intended in this Title, is easier to conjecture, than certainly to determine; some think it was given them upon the account of their being present in the Mount, when a voice came out of the Cloud, and said, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. The like where- to when the People heard at another time, they cried out, *that it Thundred*. But besides that this account is in it self very slender and inconsiderable, if so, then the title must equally have belonged to *Peter*, who was then present with them. Others think it was upon the account of their loud, bold and resolute preaching Christi- anity to the World, fearing no threatnings, daunted with no oppositions, but going on to thunder in the Ears of the secure sleepy World, rousing and

awakening the consciences of Men with the earnestness and vehemency of their Preaching, as Thunder, which is called *God's Voice*, powerfully shakes the natural World, and breaks in pieces the *Cedars of Lebanon*: Or, if it relate to the Doctrines they delivered, it may signify their teaching the great mysteries and speculations of the Gospel in a profounder strain than the rest; *ὅς ἐστιν ὁμοῦς τοῖς τοῖς Ζεβεδαῖς, ὅς μεγαλύνει καὶ διδοὺς μαρτύριον*, as *Theophylact* notes; which how true it might be of our S. James, the Scripture is wholly silent; but was certainly verified of his Brother *John*, whose Gospel is so full of the more sublime notions and mysteries of the Gospel concerning *Christ's* Deity, eternal pre-existence, &c. That he is generally affirmed by the Ancients, not so much to *speake*, as *thunder*. Probably the expression may denote no more, than that in general they were to be prime and eminent Ministers, in this new scene and state of things, the introducing of the Gospel or Evangelical dispensation, being called a *Voice shaking the Heavens and the Earth*, and so is exactly correspondent to the native importance of the Word, signifying an *Earth-quake*, or a vehement commotion that makes a noise like to Thunder.

5. HOWEVER it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had respect to the furious and resolute disposition of those two Brothers, who seem to have been of a more fierce and fiery temper than the rest of the Apostles: whereof we have this memorable instance. Our Lord being resolved upon his Journey to *Jerusalem*, sent some of his Disciples as Harbingers to prepare his way, who coming to a Village of *Samaritan*, were uncivilly rejected, and refused entertainment; probably, because of that old and inveterate quarrel that was between the *Samaritan* and the *Jews*, and more especially at this time, because that our Saviour seemed to flight Mount *Gerizim* (where was their staple and solemn place of worship) by passing it by, to go worship at *Jerusalem*; the reason in all likelihood why they denied him those common courtesies and conveniences due to all Travellers. This piece of rudeness and inhumanity was presently so deeply resented by S. James, and his Brother, that they

Mark 3:16, 17.
Hieron. Comm.
in Marc. c. 3.
p. 92. T. 9. Gau-
dent. Brax.
Tract. 1. de Eccl.
Evangel. f. in
ordin. 8.
Matth. 17. 5.
John 12. 29.

Filius Zebedei Boanerges, hoc est, filius tonitru
vocat, liquidem divina eorum predicatio magnam
quendam et illustrem sonitum per terrarum Orbem
datara erat. Viët. Antioch. comment. in Marc.
cap. 2.

Comment. in
Marc. 3. p. 209.

Heb. 12. 26.
Hagg. 2. 7. ubi
מִרְעָם
tremore faciam.
בְּנֵי רָעָם
Fili commoti-
onis seu magne
confusiois.

they came to their Master to know, whether as *Elias* did of old, they might not pray down Fire from Heaven to consume these barbarous and inhospitable People. So apt are Men for every trifle to call upon Heaven, to minister to the extravagancies of their own impotent and unreasonable passions. But our Lord rebukes their zeal, tells them they quite mistook the case, that this was not the frame and temper of his Disciples and Followers, the nature and design of that Evangelical dispensation, that he was come to set on foot in the World, which was a more pure and perfect, a more mild and gentle Institution, than what was under the Old Testament in the times of *Moses* and *Elias*, the Son of Man being come not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.

6. THE Holy Jesus not long after set forwards in his Journey to *Jerusalem* in order to his crucifixion, and the better to prepare the minds of his Apostles for his death and departure from them, he told them what he was to suffer, and yet that after all he should rise again. They whose minds were yet big with expectations of a temporal power and monarchy, understood not well the meaning of his discourses to them. However S. James and his Brother supposing the Resurrection that he spoke of, would be the time, when his Power and Greatness would commence, prompted their Mother *Salome* to put up a petition for them. She, presuming probably on her relation to *Christ*, and knowing that our Saviour had promised his Apostles, that when he was come into his Kingdom, they should sit upon twelve Thrones judging the twelve Tribes of Israel; and that he already honoured her two Sons with an intimate familiarity, after leave modestly asked for her address, begg'd of him, that when he took possession of his Kingdom, her two Sons James and John might have the principal places of honour and dignity next his own Person, the one sitting on his right hand, and the other on his left, as the Heads of *Judah* and *Joseph* had the first places among the Rulers of the Tribes in the Jewish Nation. Our Lord directing his discourse to the two Apostles, at whose suggestion he knew their Mother had made this address, told them, they quite mistook the nature of his Kingdom, which consisted not in external grandeur and sovereignty, but in an inward life and power, wherein the highest place would be to take the greatest pains, and to undergo the heaviest troubles and sufferings; that they should do well to consider, whether they were able to endure, what he was to undergo, to drink of that bitter Cup which he was to drink of, and to go through that Baptism, wherein he was shortly to be baptized in his own blood. Our Apostles were not yet cured of their ambitious humour, but either not understanding the force of our Saviour's reasonings, or too confidently presuming upon their own strength, answered, that they could do all this. But he, the goodness of whose nature ever made him put the best and most candid interpretation upon mens words and actions, yea even those of his greatest enemies, did not take the advantage of their hasty and inconsiderate reply, to treat them with sharp and quick reproofs, but mildly owning their forwardness to suffer, told them, that as for sufferings, they should indeed suffer as well as he (and so we accordingly find they did, S. James after all dying a violent death, S. John enduring great miseries and torments, and might we believe *Chrysofome* and *Theophylact*, Martyrdom it self, though others nearer to those times assure us, he died a natural death) but for any peculiar honour or dignity he would not by an absolute and peremptory favour of his own dispose it any otherwise, than according to those rules and instructions which he had received of his Father. The rest of the Apostles were offended with this ambitious request of the Sons of Zebedee; but our Lord to calm their passions, discoursed to them of the nature

of the Evangelick state, -that it was not here, as in the Kingdoms and *seignories* of this World, where the great ones receive homage and fealty from those that are under them, but that in his service humility was the way to honour, that who ever took most pains, and did most good, would be the greatest Person, pre-eminence being hereto be measured by industry and diligence, and a ready condescension to the meanest offices that might be subservient to the Souls of Men, and that this was no more than what he sufficiently taught them by his own Example, being come into the World, not to be served himself with any pompous circumstances of state and splendour, but to serve others, and to lay down his life for the redemption of Mankind. With which discourse the storm blew over, and their exorbitant passions began on all hands to be allayed and pacified.

7. WHAT became of S. James after our Saviour's Ascension, we have no certain account either from Sacred, or Ecclesiastick stories. * *Sophronius* tells us, that he preached to the dispersed Jews, which surely he means of that dispersion that was made of the Jewish Converts after the death of Stephen. The Spanish writers generally contend, that having preached the Gospel up and down Judea and Samaria, after the death of Stephen he came to these Western parts, and particularly into Spain (some add Britain and Ireland) where he planted Christianity, and appointed some select Disciples to perfect what he had begun, and then returned back to Jerusalem. Of this

there are no footsteps in any Ancient Writers, earlier than the middle Ages of the Church, when 'tis mentioned by * *Isidore*, the Breviary of Toledo, and Arabic Book of * *Anastasi*, Patriarch of Antioch, concerning the Passions of the Martyrs, and some others after them. Nay, || *Baronius* himself, though endeavouring to render the account as smooth and plausible as he could, and to remove

what objections lay against it; yet after all confesses, he did it onely to shew, that the thing was not impossible, nor to be accounted such a monstrous and extravagant Fable, as some men made it to be, as indeed elsewhere he plainly and peremptorily both denies and disproves it. He could not but see, that the shortness of this Apostle's Life, the Apostles continuing all in one entire body at Jerusalem, even after the dispersing of the other Christians, probably not going out of the bounds of Judea for many years after our Lord's Ascension, could not comport with so tedious and difficult a voyage, and the time which he must necessarily spend in those parts: And therefore 'tis safest to confine his ministry to Judea, and the parts thereabouts, and to seek for him at Jerusalem, where we are sure to find him.

8. HEROD Agrippa, son of *Arifobulus*, and Grandchild of *Herod the Great* (under whom Christ was born) had been in great favour with the late Emperor *Caligula*, but much more with his successor *Claudius*, who confirmed his predecessor's grant, with the addition of Judea, Samaria, and *Abylene*, the remaining portions of his Grandfather's dominions. *Claudius* being settled in the Empire, over comes *Herod* from Rome to take possession, and to manage the affairs of his new acquired Kingdom. A Prince noble and generous, prudent and politick, thoroughly versed in all the arts of Courtship, able to oblige enemies, and to mollify or decline the displeasure of the Emperor, (witness his subtle and cunning insinuations to *Caligula*, when he commanded the Jews to account him a * God) he was one that knew, let the wind blow which way it would, how to gain the point he aimed at; of a courteous and affable demeanour, but withal

* Apud Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Jacob.

* Pseudo-Dextr. Chron. Vincent. Bellou. Spec. Hist. l. 8. c. 7.

* De vit. Cyth. SS. utriusque Test. c. 72. || Brev. Tol. Inj. S. Iudoi.

* Apud Marian. de adv. Jac. in Hispan. c. 7. p. 11. sed ex fide aliorum.

|| In Not. ad Martyr. ad 25. Jul. p. 452. vid. Orat. Roder. Archiep. Tol. in Not. G. Loosfeld decret. Gund. Tom. 4. Concil. p. 548, 549.

Ad Ann. DCCCXVI. Num. 69, 70. Tom. 9.

* Vid. Epist. cum ad Calum Imp. ap. Phil. de Legat. ad Calum. p. 1031. & seqq.

το πάρετα καὶ θαλάσσης || *Erigea*, a mighty zealot for the Jewish Religion, and a most accurate observer of the Mosaic Law, keeping himself free from all legal impurities, and suffering no day to pass over his head, in which he himself was not present at sacrifice. Being desirous in the entrance upon his sovereignty to insinuate himself into the favour of the populace, and led no less by his own zealous inclination, he saw no better way, than to fall heavy upon the Christians, a sort of men, whom he knew the Jews infinitely hated, as a novel and an upstart Set, whose Religion proclaimed open defiance to the Mosaic Institutions. Hereupon he began to raise a persecution, but alas, the commonalty were too mean a sacrifice to fall as the only victim to his zeal and popular designs, he must have a fatter and more honourable sacrifice. It was not long before S. James his stirring and active temper, his bold reproving of the Jews, and vigorous contending for the truth and excellency of the Christian Religion, rendered him a fit object for his turn. Him he commands to be apprehended, cast into prison, and sentence of death to be passed upon him. As he was led forth to the place of * *Martyrdom*, the Soldier or Officer that had guarded him to the Tribunal, or rather his Accuser (and so || *Suidas* expressly tells us it was) having been convinced by that mighty courage and constancy which S. James shewed at the time of his trial, repented of what he had done, came and fell down at the Apostle's feet, and heartily begged pardon for what he said against him. The holy man, after a little surprise at the thing, raised him up, embraced, and kissed him. Peace (said he) my son, peace be to thee, and the pardon of thy faults. Whereupon before them all he publicly professed himself to be a Christian, and to both were beheaded at the same time. Thus fell S. James, the Apostolick Proto-Martyr, the first of that number that gained the Crown, cheerfully taking that cup, which he had long since told his Lord he was most ready to drink of.

9. BUT the Divine vengeance, that never sleeps, suffered not the death of this innocent and righteous man to pass long unrevengeed; of which, though S. Luke gives us but a short account, yet * *Josephus*, who might himself remember it, being a youth at that time of seven or eight years of age, sets down the story with its particular circumstances, agreeing almost exactly with the Sacred Historian. Shortly after S. James his Martyrdom, *Herod* removed to *Cæsarea*, being resolved to make war upon the neighbouring *Zyrians* and *Sidonians*: While he was here, he proclaimed solemn fights and Festival entertainments to be held in honour of *Cæsar*, to which there flocked a great confluence of all the Nobility thereabouts. Early in the morning on the second day he came with great state into the Theatre, to make an Oration to the people, being clothed in a Robe all over curiously wrought with silver, which encountering with the beams of the rising Sun, reflected such a lustre upon the eyes of the people (who make sensible appearances the only true measures of greatness) as begot an equal wonder and veneration in them, crying out (prompted no doubt by flatterers, who began the cry) that it was some Deity which they beheld, and that he who spake to them must be something above the ordinary standard of humanity. This impious applause *Herod* received without any token of dislike, or sense of that injury that was hereby done to the supreme Being of the World. But a sudden accident changed the scene, and turned the Comic part into a black fatal Tragedy. Looking up, he espied an Owl sitting upon a rope over his head (as probably also he did an Angel, forso

|| Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 19. c. 7. p. 577.

* Clem. Alex. Hypotyp. lib. 7. apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 8. p. 45. || Suid. in voc. Hērodes.

* Antiquit. Jud. lib. 19. cap. 7. p. 679.

Hinc Josephi locum laudans Eusebius, totam hanc mentionem prætermissit, quod sine loco ὄρνιθας substituit: memit quidem pīā, ut mala pīe.

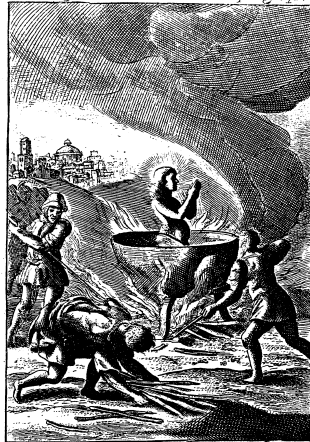
THE LIFE OF S. JOHN.

S. JOHN Evangelist.



Having lived to a great age, he died at Ephesus 68 years after our Lord's Passion, and was Buried neere that City. Barou.

St John put into a Caldron of boiling oyl.



John a man Peter said Lord what shall this man do? let us cast him into the sea, & I will that he carry till I come, what is that to thee? I think it was strange concerning of fiery trial that is to try you as though some flames should be kindled to you.

His kindred and relations; whether eminent for Nobility. The peculiar favours conferred upon him by our Saviour. His lying in our Lord's Bosome. His attending at the crucifixion. Our Lord's committing the Blessed Virgin to his care. The great intimacy between him and Peter. How long he resided at Jerusalem. Asia his Apostolical Province. His planting Christianity there, and in other parts of the East. His being sent prisoner to Rome, and being put into a Caldron of boiling Oil by the command of Domitian. His banishment into Patmos. Transportation, what kind of punishment. Capitis Diminutio what. His writing the Apocalypse there. The tradition of his hand wherewith he wrote it, being still kept there. His return to Ephesus, and

governing the affairs of that Province. His great Age, and Death. The fancy of his being still alive, whence derived by the Ancients. The Tradition of his going alive into his Grave, and sleeping there. Several Counterfeits pretending themselves to be S. John. His Celibacy; whether he was ever married. His humility. His admirable love and charity, and hearty recommending it to the last. His charity to mens Souls. His endangering himself to reclaim a debauched young man. His singular vigilancy against Hereticks and Seducers. His publick disowning Cerinthus his company. Cerinthus, who; and what his principles. The Hereſie of Ebion, what. Nicolaitans, who; whence their original. An account of Nicolas the Deacon's separating from his Wife. The vile principles and practices of his pretended followers. S. John's Writings. His Revelation. Dionysius Alexandrinus his judgment concerning it, and its Authour. Asserted and proved to be S. John's. The ground of doubting, what. His Gospel when and where written. The solemn preparation, and causes moving him to undertake it. The subject of it sublime and mysterious. Admired and cited by Heathen Philosophers. Its Translation into Hebrew. His first Epistle, and the design of it. His two other Epistles to whom written, and why not admitted of old. His Style and way of writing considered. The great Encomium given of his Writings by the Ancient Fathers.

* Propter generis Nobilitatem notus erat Pontifici, & Judæorum infidias non timebat, in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in Atrium, & stare plus Apostolorum ante crucem, matremque salutari in sua recipere. Hieron. Epistol. Marcell. p. 119. Tom. 1.

1. **S**AINTE John was a Galilean, the Son of Zebedee and Salome, younger Brother to Saint James, together with whom he was brought up in the Trade of Fishing. * Saint Hierome makes him remarkable upon the account of his Nobility, whereby he became acquainted with the High-priest, and resolutely ventured himself amongst the Jews at our Saviour's Trial, prevailed to introduce Peter into the Hall, was the only Apostle that attended our Lord at his Crucifixion, and afterwards durst own his Mother, and keep her at his own house. But the Nobility of his Family, and especially that it should be such as to procure him so much respect from persons of the highest rank and quality, seems not reconcileable with the meanness of his Father's Trade, and the privacy of his fortunes. And for his acquaintance with the High-priest, I should rather put it upon some other account, especially if it be true what * Nicephorus relates, That he had lately sold his Estate left by his Father in Galilee to Annas the High-priest, and had therewith purchased a fair house at Jerusalem, about Mount Sion, whence he became acquainted with him. Before his coming to Christ, he seems for some time to have been Disciple to John the Baptist, being probably that other Disciple that was with Andrew, when they left the Baptist to follow our Saviour, who particularly does he relate all circumstances of that transaction, though modestly, as in other parts of his Gospel, concealing his own name. He was at the same time with his Brother called by our Lord both to the Discipleship and Apostolate, by far the youngest of all the Apostles, as the Ancients generally affirm, and his great Age seems to evince, living near LXX Years after our Saviour's suffering.

2. **T**HERE is not much said concerning him in the Sacred Story, more than what is recorded of him in conjunction with his Brother James, which we have already remarked in his life. He was peculiarly dear to his Lord and Master, being the Disciple whom Jesus loved, that is, treated with more freedom and familiarity than the rest. And indeed he was not only one of the Three, whom our Saviour made partakers of the private passages of his

life,

life, but had some instances of a more particular kindness and favour conferred upon him. Witness his lying in our Saviour's bosom at the Paschal Supper, it being the custom of those times to lie along at meals upon Couches, so that the second lay with his head in the bosom of him that was before him; this honourable place was not given to any of the Aged, but reserved for our Apostle: Nay, when Peter was desirous to know, which of them our Saviour meant, when he told them that one of them should betray him, and durst not himself propound the question, he made use of S. John (whose familiarity with him might best warrant such an enquiry) to ask our Lord; who thereupon made them understand, 'twas Judas whom he designed by the Traitour. This favour our Apostle endeavoured in some measure to answer by returns of particular kindness and conſlancy to our Saviour, slaying with him, when the rest deserted him. Indeed upon our Lord's first apprehension he fled after the other Apostles, it not being without some probabilities of reason, that the Ancients conceive him to have been that young man that followed after Christ, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body, whom when the Officers laid hold upon, he left the linen cloth, and fled naked from them. This in all likelihood was that Garment that he had cast about him at Supper (for they had peculiar Vestments for that purpose) and being extremely affected with the Treason, and our Lord's approaching Passion, had forgot to put on his other Garments, but followed him into the Garden in the same habit wherewith he arose from the Table, it being then night, and so less liable to be taken notice of either by himself or others. But though he fled at present to avoid that sudden violence that was offered to him, yet he soon recovered himself, and returned back to seek his Master, confidently entered into the High-priests Hall, and followed our Lord through the several passages of his Trial, and at last waited upon him (and for any thing we know, was the only Apostle that did so) at his Execution, owning him, as well as being own'd by him, in the midst of arms and guards, and in the thickest crowds of his most inveterate enemies. Here it was that our Lord by his last Will and Testament made upon the Cross, appointed him Guardian of his own Mother, the Blessed Virgin; When he saw his Mother, and the Disciple standing by whom he loved, he said unto his Mother, Woman, behold thy Son; see, here is one that shall supply my place, and be to thee instead of a Son, to love and honour thee, to provide and take care for thee: and to the Disciple he said, Behold thy Mother; Her, whom thou shalt henceforth deal with, treat and observe with that duty and honourable regard, which the relation of an indulgent Mother challenges from a pious and obedient Son: whereupon he took her into his own House, her Husband Joseph being some time since dead, and made her a principal part of his charge and care. And certainly the Holy Jesus could not have given a more honourable testimony of his particular respect and kindness to S. John, than to commit his own Mother, whom of all earthly Relations he held most dear and valuable, to his trust and care, and to substitute him to supply that duty which he himself paid her while he was here below.

3. **A**T the first news of our Lord's return from the dead, he, accompanied with Peter, presently hastened to the Sepulchre. Indeed there seems to have been a mutual intimacy between these two Apostles more than the rest. 'Twas to Peter that S. John gave the notice of Christ's appearing, when he came to them at the Sea of Tiberias in the habit of a Stranger; and it was for John that Peter was so solicitously inquisitive to know what should become of him. After Christ's Ascension, we find these two going up to the Temple at the Hour of Prayer, and miraculously healing the poor impotent Cripple; both preaching

Mark 14. 51.

John 19. 26, 27.

* H. Eccl. lib. t. c. 28. p. 104. vid. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 135. ubi hereditatem hanc Caiapha vendidit fuisse dict.

* *Ajnd Kirften.*
de *Vit. Qnat.*
Evang. p. 52.

|| *Hom. 66.* in
Matth. c. 20.
p. 575.
* *Comm.* in
Matth. 20.
p. 59. *Tom. 9.*

* *De Confumm.*
Mund. & Anti-
clur. in *Antiquar.*
Bibl. P. 2. p. 351.
Lat. T. 2. p. 351.
|| *Apud Phot.*
cod. CCXXIX.
Col. 797.

John 21. 21.
22, 23.

Matth. 16. 28.

* *Tradit. 124.* in
Joan. Col. 569.
Tom. 9.

gether improbable, seeing by this account he must be Fifty Years of Age when called to be an Apostle, a thing directly contrary to the whole content and testimony of Antiquity, which makes him very young at the time of his calling to the Apostolick Office. He died (says the * *Arabian*) in the expectation of his blessedness, by which he means his quiet and peaceable departure, in opposition to a violent and bloody death. Indeed *Theophylact*, and others before him conceive him to have died a Martyr, upon no other ground, than what our Saviour told him and his Brother, that they should drink of the Cup, and be baptized with the Baptism wherewith he was baptized, which || *Chrysostome* strictly understands of Martyrdom and a bloody death. It was indeed literally verified of his Brother James; and for him, though, as * *Hierome* observes, he was not put to death, yet may he be truly styled a Martyr, his being put into a Vessel of boiling Oil, his many Years banishment, and other sufferings in the cause of *Christ*, justly challenging that honourable title, though he did not actually lay down his life for the testimony of the Gospel, it being not want of good-will either in him or his enemies, but the Divine Providence immediately over-ruling the powers of Nature, that kept the malice of his enemies from its full execution.

8. OTHERS on the contrary are so far from admitting him to die a Martyr, that they question, nay, peremptorily deny that he ever died at all. The first Asserter, and that but obliquely, that I find of this opinion, was *Hippolytus* Bishop of *Porto*, and Scholar to *Clemens of Alexandria*, who ranks him in the same capacity with *Enoch* and *Elias*; for speaking of the twofold coming of *Christ*, he tells * us, that his first coming in the flesh had *John* the Baptist for its forerunner, and his second to Judgment shall have *Enoch*, *Elias* and *S. John*. || *Ephrem* Patriarch of *Antioch* is more express, he tells us, there are three Persons, answerable to the three dispensations of the word, yet in the body, *Enoch*, *Elias* and *S. John*, *Enoch* before the Law, *Elias* under the Law, and *S. John* under the Gospel; concerning which last, that he never died, he confirms both from Scripture and Tradition, and quotes *S. Cyril* (I suppose he means him of *Alexandria*) as of the same opinion. The whole foundation upon which this Error is built, was that discourse that passed between our Lord and *Peter* concerning this Apostle: For *Christ* having told *Peter* what was to be his own fate, *Peter* enquires what should become of *S. John*, knowing him to be the Disciple whom *Jesus* loved: Our Lord rebukes his curiosity, by asking him, what that concerned him, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* This the Apostles misunderstood, and a report presently went out amongst them, *That that Disciple should not die*: Though *S. John*, who himself records the passage, inserts a caution, *That Jesus did not say, he should not die, but only what if I will that he tarry till I come*: Which doubtless our Lord meant of his coming (so often mentioned in the New Testament) in Judgment upon the Jews, at the final overthrow of *Jerusalem* which *S. John* outlived many years; and which our Lord particularly intended when elsewhere he told them, *Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his Kingdom*.

9. FROM the same Original sprang the report, that he only lay sleeping in his Grave. The story was current in *S. Augustine's* days, from whom we receive this account, though possibly the Reader will smile at the conceit. He tells * us, 'twas commonly reported and believed that *S. John* was not dead, but that he rested like a Man asleep in his Grave at *Ephesus*, as plainly appeared from the Dust sensibly boiling and bubbling up, which they accounted to be nothing else but the continual motion of his breath. This report *S. Augustine* seems inclinable to believe, having received it, as he tells us, from very credible

credible hands. He farther adds out of some *Apocryphal Writings*, what was generally known and reported, that when *S. John*, then in health, had caused his Grave to be dug and prepared, he laid himself down in it as in a Bed, and as they thought, only fell asleep. * *Nicephorus* relates the story * *H. Eccl. l. 2.* more at large, from whom (if it may be any pleasure to entertain the Reader c. 42. p. 208. with these things) we shall give this account. *S. John* foreseeing his Translation into Heaven, took the Presbyters and Ministers of the Church of *Ephesus*, and several of the Faithfull, along with him out of the City, carried them unto a Cemetery near at hand, whither he himself was wont to retire to Prayer, and very earnestly recommended the state of the Churches to God in Prayer. Which being done, he commanded a Grave to be immediately dug, and having instructed them in the more recondite mysteries of *Theologie*, the most excellent Precepts of a good Life, concerning Faith, Hope, and especially Charity, confirmed them in the practice of Religion, commanded them to the care and blessing of our Saviour, and solemnly taking his leave of them, he signed himself with the sign of the Cross, and before them all went down into the Grave; strictly charging them, to put on the Grave-stone, and to make it fast, and the next day to come and open it, and take a view of it. They did so, and having opened the Sepulchre, found nothing there but the Grave-clothes which he had left behind him. To all which let me add, while my hand is in these things, what * *Ephrem* relates, that from * *Apud Phot.* this Grave, wherein he rested so short a time, a kind of Sacred Oil or Un- *ubi sup. p. 800.* guent was wont to be gathered. *Gregory* of || *Tours* says 'twas *Manna*, which || *De Glor.* even in his time like flour was cast up from the Sepulchre, and was carried *Martyr. lib. 1.* up and down the World for the curing of diseases. This report of our Apo- *cap. 30. pag. 35.* stle's being yet alive, some Men made use of to wild and phantastick purposes. * *Beza* tells us of an Impostor in his time (whom *Postellus*, who vainly boasted that he had the Soul of *Adam*, was wont to call his Brother) who publicly professed himself to be our *S. John*, and was afterwards burnt at *Tholose* in *France*. Nor was this any more than what was done in the more early Ages of Christianity. For || *Sulpitius Severus* giving us an account of a young *Spaniard* that first professed himself to be *Elias*, and then *Christ* himself; adds, That there was one at the same time in the *Eaß*, who gave out himself to be *S. John*. So fast will Error, like circles in the water, multiply it self, and one mistaken place of Scripture give countenance to an hundred stories, that shall be built upon it. I have no more to add, but what we meet with in the * *Arabick* writer of his life, (though it little agrees * *Apud Kirften.* with the preceding passages) who reports, that there were none present at *his* burial but his disciple *Phogfir* (probably *Prochor*, or *Prochorus*, one of the seven Deacons, and generally said to have been *S. John's* companion an assistant) whom he strictly charged never to discover his Sepulchre to any; it may be for the same reason for which it is thought God concealed the Body of *Moses*, to prevent the idolatrous worshipping of his Reliques: And accordingly the *Turks*, who conceit him to be buried in the confines of *Lydia*, * *Epiph. Hæres.* pay great honour and veneration to his Tomb. *p. 440.*

10. *S. JOHN* seems also to have led a single life, and so the * *Ancients* tell us, nay, *S. Ambrose* positively || affirms, that all the Apostles were married, except *S. John* and *S. Paul*. There want not indeed some, and especially the middle Writers of the * *Church*, who will have our Apostle to have been married, and that it was his marriage which our Lord was at in *Cana of Galilee*, invited thither upon the account of his consanguinity and alliance: But that being convinced by the Miracle of the Water turned into Wine, he immediately quitted his conjugal relation, and became

A a

one

one of our Lord's Disciples. But this, as *Baronius* himself confesses, is trifling, and the issue of fabulous invention, a thing wholly unknown to the Fathers and best Writers of the Church, and which not only has no just authority to support it, but arguments enough to beat it down. As for his natural temper, he seems (as we have observed in his Brother's Life) to have been of a more eager and resolute disposition, easily apt to be inflamed and provoked, which his reduced Age brought to a more staid and a calmer temper. He was polished by no study or arts of Learning, but what was wanting in that, was abundantly made up in the excellent temper and constitution of his mind, and that furniture of Divine graces, which he was adorned withall. His humility was admirable, studiously concealing his own worth and honour, in all his Epistles (as * *Eusebius* long since observed) he never puts down the honourable Titles of *Apostle* or *Evangelist*, but only styles himself, and that too but sometimes, *Presbyter*, or *Elder*, alluding probably to his Age, as much as Office; in his Gospel, when he speaks of the Disciple whom *Jesus loved*, he constantly conceals his own name, leaving the Reader to conjecture who was meant. Love and Charity he practised himself, and affectionately pressed upon others, our Lord's great love to him seems to have inspired his Soul with a bigger and more generous charity than the rest: 'Tis the great vein that runs through his Writings, and especially his Epistles, where he urges it as the great and peculiar Law of Christianity, and without which all other pretences to Christian Religion are vain and frivolous, useless and insignificant. And this was his constant practice to his dying day. When Age and Weakness grew upon him at * *Ephebus*, that he was no longer able to Preach to them, he used at every publick Meeting to be led to the Church, and say no more to them, than, *Little children, love one another*. And when his Auditors wearied with the constant repetition of the same thing, asked him why he always spoke the same, he answered, Because it was the command of our Lord, and that if they did nothing else, this alone was enough.

11. BUT the largest measures of his Charity he expressed in the mighty care that he shewed to the Souls of Men, unweariedly spending himself in the service of the Gospel, travelling from *East to West* to leaven the World with the Principles of that holy Religion which he was sent to propagate, patiently enduring all torments, breaking through all difficulties and discouragements, shunning no dangers, that he might do good to Souls, redeem Mens minds from error and idolatry, and reduce them from the snares of a debauched and a vicious life. Witness one famous * instance. In his visitation of the Churches, near to *Ephebus*, he made choice of a young Man, whom with a special charge for his instruction and education he committed to the Bishop of that place. The spiritual Man undertook the charge, instructed his Pupil, and baptized him: And then thinking he might a little remit the reins of discipline, the youth made an ill use of his liberty, and was quickly debauched by bad companions, making himself Captain to a company of High-way men, the most loose, cruel, and profligate wretches of the Country. *S. John* at his return understanding this, and sharply reproving the negligence and unfaithfulness of his Tutour, resolved to find him out: And without any consideration of what danger he entred upon, in venturing himself upon Persons of desperate fortunes, and forfeited consciences, he went to the Mountains, where their usual haunt was; and being here taken by the Sentinel, he desired to be brought before their Commander, who no sooner espied him coming towards him, but immediately fled. The aged Apostle followed after, but not able to overtake him, passionately entreated

* *Demonstr. Evangel. lib. 3. p. 120.*

* *Hieron. Comm. in c. 6. ad Galat. Tom. 9. p. 200.*

* *Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 23. p. 92.*

treated him to stay, promising him to undertake with God for his peace and pardon. He did so, and both melted into tears, and the Apostle having prayed with, and for him, returned him a true Penitent and Convert to the Church. This story we have elsewhere related more at large out of *Eusebius*, as he does from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, since which that Tract it self of * *Clement* is made publick to the World.

* *Orat. deo. 76, in c. 2. in Audiar. Biblioth. Pp. Gr. L. à Fr. Combef. edit. An. 1672. Part. 1. p. 185. n. 42.*

12. NOR was it the least instance of his care of the Church, and charity to the Souls of Men, that he was so infinitely vigilant against Hereticks and Seducers, countermining their artifices, antidoting against the poisons of their errors, and shunning all communion and conversation with their persons. * Going along with some of his friends at *Ephebus* to the Bath (whither he used frequently to resort, and the ruins whereof of *Porphyry* not far from the place where stood the famous Temple of *Diana*, as a late eye-witness informs us, are still shewed at this day) he enquired of the servant that waited there, who was within; the servant told him, *Cerintus* (*Epiphanius* says it was *Ebion*, and 'tis not improbable that they might be both there;) which the Apostle no sooner understood, but in great abhorrence he turned back, *Let's be gone my brethren* (said he) *and make haste from this place, lest the Bath wherein there is such an Heretick as Cerintus, the great enemy of the truth, fall upon our heads*. This account *Ireneus* delivers from *Poly carp*, *S. John's* own Scholar and Disciple. This *Cerintus* was a Man of loose and pernicious principles, endeavouring to corrupt Christianity with many damnable * Errors. To make himself more considerable, he struck in with the *Jewish* Converts, and made a bustle in that great controversy at *Jerusalem*, about Circumcision and the observation of the Law of *Moses*. But his usual haunt was *Asia*, where amongst other things he openly denied *Christ's* Resurrection, affirmed the World to have been made by Angels, broaching unheard-of *Dogmata*, and pretending them to have been communicated to him by Angels, venting Revelations composed by himself, as a great Apostle, affirming that after the Resurrection the Reign of *Christ* would commence here upon Earth, and that Men living again at *Jerusalem*, should for the space of a Thousand Years enjoy all manner of sensual pleasures and delights: hoping by this *fools Paradise* that he should tempt Men of loose and brutish minds over to his party. Much of the same stamp was * *Ebion* (though in some principles differing from him, as error agrees with it self as little as with truth) who held that the Holy *Jesus* was a mere, and a mean Man, begotten by *Joseph* of *Mary* his Wife, and that the observance of the *Mosaic* Rites and Laws was necessary to Salvation: And because they saw *S. Paul* stand so full in their way, they reproached him as an *Apostate* from his Religion, and rejected his Epistles, owning none but *S. Matthew's* Gospel in *Hebrew*, having little or no value for the rest; the *Sabbath* and *Jewish* Rites they observed with the *Jews*, and on the Lord's day celebrated the memory of our Lord's Resurrection, according to the custome and practice of the *Christians*.

13. BESIDES these, there was another sort of Hereticks that infested the Church in *S. John's* time, the *Nicolaitans*, mentioned by him in his Revelation, and whose doctrine our Lord is with a particular Emphasis there said to hate; indeed a most wretched and brutish Sect, generally supposed to derive their original from *Nicolas*, one of the seven Deacons, whom we read of in the *Acts*, whereof *Clemens of Alexandria* gives this probable * account. This *Nicolas* having a beautifull Wife, and being reproved by the Apostles

Prim. Christ. Part. 3. ch. 2. p. 248.

* *Iren. adv. Hæres. l. 3. c. 3. p. 233. Euseb. l. 3. c. 28. p. 100. Epiph. Hæres. 30. p. 69. Th. Smith. Epiph. de Vit. Asia Eccl. p. 159.*

* *Epiphani. Hæres. 28. p. 53. Celsus apud Euseb. l. 3. c. 28. p. 100.*

* *Euseb. ib. p. 59.*

Rev. 2. 15.

* *Symeon. lib. 3. p. 435. Euseb. l. 3. c. 29. p. 101.*

for being jealous of her, to shew how far he was from it, brought her forth, and gave any that would leave to marry her, affirming this to be suitable to that saying, *ὅτι πρὸς ἡμέραν τῇ σαυρὶ δέσῃ*, *That we ought to abuse the flesh*. This speech, he tells us, was ascribed to S. *Matthias*, who taught, *That we must fight with the flesh and abuse it*, and not allowing it any thing for pleasure, encrease the Soul by faith and knowledge. These words and actions of his, his disciples and followers misunderstood, and perverting things to the worst sense imaginable, began to let loose the reins, and hence-forwards to give themselves over to the greatest filthiness, the most shameless and impudent uncleanness, throwing down all inclosures, making the most promiscuous mixtures lawful, and pleasure the ultimate end and happiness of Man. Such were their principles, such their practices; whereas *Nicolas*, their pretended Patron and Founder, was (says *Clemens*) a sober and a temperate Man, never making use of any but his own Wife, by whom he had one *Son*, and several Daughters, who all liv'd in perpetual Virginity.

14. THE last instance that we shall remark of our Apostle's care for the good of the Church, is the Writings which he left to Posterity. Whereof the first in time, though plac'd last, is his *Apocalypse* or Book of *Revelations*, written while confined in *Patmos*. It was of old not only rejected by Heretics, but controverted by many of the Fathers themselves. *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* has a very large discourse concerning it; he tells us, that many plainly disown'd this Book, not only for the matter, but the Author of it, as being neither Apostle, nor any Holy or Ecclesiastical Person; that *Cerinthus* prefixed S. *John's* name to it, to give the more plausible title to his Dream of *Christ's* Reign upon Earth, and that sensual and carnal state that should attend it: that for his part he durst not reject it, looking upon it as containing wise and admirable mysteries, though he could not fathom and comprehend them, that he did not measure them by his own line, nor condemn, but rather admire what he could not understand; that he owned the Author to have been an holy, and divinely inspired Person, but could not believe it to be S. *John the Apostle and Evangelist*, neither style, matter, nor method agreeing with his other Writings; that in this he frequently names himself, which he never does in any other; that there were several *Johns* at that time, and two buried at *Ephesus*, the *Apostle*, and another, one of the Disciples that dwelt in *Asia*, but which the Author of this Book, he leaves uncertain. But though doubted of by some, it was entertained by the far greater part of the Ancients as the genuine work of our S. *John*. Nor could the setting down his Name be any reasonable exception, for whatever he might do in his other Writings, especially his Gospel, where it was less necessary, Historical matters depending not so much upon his authority, yet it was otherwise in Prophetic Revelations, where the Person of the Revealer adds great weight and moment, the reason why some of the Prophets under the Old Testament did so frequently set down their own Names. The diversity of the style is of no considerable value in this case, it being no wonder, if in arguments so vastly different the same Person did not always observe the same tenour and way of writing; whereof there want not instances in some others of the Apostolick Order. The truth is, all circumstances concur to intitle our Apostle to be the Author of it, his name frequently expressed, its being written in the Island of *Patmos* (a circumstance not competent to any but S. *John*) his styling himself *their Brother and Companion in Tribulation*, and in the Kingdom and patience of Jesus *Christ*, his writing particular Epistles to the seven Churches of *Asia*, all planted,

* *Apol. Euseb.*
H. Eccl. lib. 7.
c. 25: p. 272, 86c.

or at least cultivated by him, the doctrine in it suitable to the Apostolick spirit and temper, evidently bearing witness in this case. That which seems to have given ground to doubt concerning both its Author and authority, was its being long before it was usually joined with other Books of the holy Canon: for containing in it some passages directly level'd at *Rome*, the Seat of the *Roman* Empire, others which might be thought to symbolize with some Jewish dreams and figments, it might possibly seem fit to the prudence of those Times for a while to suppress it. Nor is the conjecture of a learned * Man to be despised, who thinks that it might be entrusted in the keeping of *John the Presbyter*, Scholar to our Apostle, whence probably the report might arise, that he, who was only the *Keeper*, was the *Author* of it. I add no more, than that upon the account of this *Apocalypse*, containing a prophetic Scheme of the future state of the Christian Church, he is in a strict sense a Prophet, and has thereby one considerable addition to his Titles, being not only an Apostle, and Evangelist, but a Prophet: an honour peculiar to himself. *Peter* was an Apostle, but properly no Evangelist: *Mark* an Evangelist, but no Apostle: S. *Matthew* an Apostle and Evangelist, but no Prophet; but S. *John* was both an Apostle, an Evangelist, and a Prophet.

15. HIS Gospel succeeds, written (say || some) in *Patmos*, and published at *Ephesus*, but as * *Irenaeus*, and others more truly, written by him after his return to *Ephesus*; compos'd at the earnest intreaty and sollicitation of the *Asian* Bishops, and Ambassadors from several Churches, in order whereunto he first caused them to proclaim a general Fast, to seek the blessing of Heaven upon so great and solemn an undertaking, which being done, he set about it. And if we may believe the report of *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*, he tells us, that upon a Hill near *Ephesus* there was a *Proseucha*, or uncovered Oratory, whither our Apostle used often to retire for Prayer and Contemplation, and where he obtained of God, that it might not Rain in that Place, till he had finished his Gospel. Nay he adds, that even in his time, no shower or storm ever came upon it. Two causes especially contributed to the writing of it; the one, that he might obviate the early Heresies of those times, especially of *Elium*, *Cerinthus*, and the rest of that crew, who began openly to deny *Christ's* Divinity, and that he had any existence before his Incarnation; the reason why our Evangelist is so express and copious in that subject. * The other was, that he might supply those passages of the Evangelical History, which the rest of the Sacred Writers had omitted. Collecting therefore the other three Evangelists, he first set to his Seal, ratifying the truth of them with his approbation and consent, and then added his own Gospel to the rest, principally insisting upon the Acts of *Christ* from the first commencing of his Ministry to the Death of *John the Baptist*, wherein the others are most defective, giving scarce any account of the first Year of our Saviour's Ministry, which therefore he made up in very large and particular Narrations. He largely records (as *Nazianzen* * observes) our Saviour's Discourses, but takes little notice of his Miracles, probably because so fully and particularly related by the rest. The subject of his writing is very sublime and mysterious, mainly designing to prove *Christ's* Divinity, eternal pre-existence, creating of the World, &c. Upon which account || *Theodoret* styles his Gospel *Θεολογικόν* || Comm. in *ἀποκάλυψιν* *ἀνδρῶν* *καὶ* *ἀντιπρόβαλον*, a Theology which humane understandings can never fully penetrate and find out. Thence generally by the Ancients, he is resembled to an *Eagle**, soaring aloft within the Clouds, whither the weak eye of Man was unable to follow him; hence peculiarly honoured with the Title

* *Παύλος δ' ἰδοὺς δὴν ἰσὺν τοῦ ἀεῶνος*
Θαύματος, διὰ πάλαι ὁ λόγος κενεῖται ἀναλ.
Naz. Carm. 41. p. 102.

* *Nemo, audeo dicere, tanta sublimitate sapientie majestatem dei videri, et nobis proprio sermone referantur. Transcendit vires, transcendit virtutem*
of

|| *Dorothe. de vid.*
App. in B. Pp.
T. 3. p. 147.
* *Iren. adv. her.*
ref. lib. 3. c. 11.
Hieron. pref. in
Math. Tom. 9.
Et de Scrip.
Eccl. in Joann.
De glor. Mar-
tyr. lib. 1. cap. 30.
p. 67.

* *Euseb. H. Eccl.*
lib. 3. c. 24. p. 99.

|| *Comm. in*
Ezech. c. 47.

THE LIFE OF S. PHILIP.

S^t Philip

After he had converted all Seythia he was at Hierapolis a City of Asia first crucified and then stoned to death. Baron. May. 1^o

S^t Philip's Martyrdom.

Act. 5. 30. Whom ye have, S^t hanged on a tree. Math. 10. 23, 25. The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his Lord.

Galilee generally despised by the Jews, and why. The honour which our Lord put upon it. S. Philip's birth-place. His being first called to be a Disciple, and the manner of it. An account of his ready obedience to Christ's call. What the Evangelists relate concerning him considered. The discourse between our Lord and him concerning the knowledge of the Father. His preaching the Gospel in the Upper Asia, and the happy effects of his Ministry. His coming to Hierapolis in Phrygia, and successfull confutation of their Idolatries. The rage and fury of the Magistrates against him. His Martyrdom, Crucifixion, and Burial. His married condition. The confounding him with Philip the Deacon. The Gospel forged by the Gnosticks under his Name.

B b

I. OF

1. **O**F all parts of *Palestine Galilee* seems to have passed under the greatest character of ignominy and reproach. The Country it self, because bordering upon the Idolatrous uncircumcised Nations, called *Galilee of the Gentiles*; the People generally beheld as more rude and boisterous, more unpollished and barbarous than the rest, not remarkable either for Civility or Religion. *The Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the Feast, for they also went up unto the Feast*; as if it had been a wonder, and a matter of very strange remark, to see so much devotion in them as to attend the solemnity of the *Passover*. Indeed both *Jew and Gentile* conspired in this, that they thought they could not fix a greater title of reproach upon our Saviour and his Followers, than that of *Galilean*. Can any good thing come out of Nazareth? a City in this Province, said *Nathanael* concerning *Christ*. Search and look (say the *Pharisees*) for out of *Galilee* ariseth no Prophet; as if nothing but briars and thorns could grow in that soil. But there needs no more to confute this ill-natur'd opinion, than that our Lord not onely made choice of it as the seat of his ordinary residence and retreat, but that hence he chose those excellent Persons, whom he made his Apostles, the great instruments to convert the World. Some of these we have already given an account of, and more are yet behind.

2. OF this number was *S. Philip*, born at *Bethsaida*, a Town near the Sea of *Tiberias*, the City of *Andrew* and *Peter*. Of his Parents and way of life the History of the Gospel takes no notice, though probably he was a Fisherman, the Trade general of that place. He had the *πρωτόκλητος*, the honour of being first called to the Discipleship, which thus came to pass. Our Lord soon after his return from the Wilderness having met with *Andrew* and his brother *Peter*, after some short discourse parted from them: And the very next day, as he was passing through *Galilee*, he found *Philip*, whom he presently commanded to follow him, the constant form which he used in making choice of his Disciples, and those that did inseparably attend upon him. So that the *πρωτοκλησία*, or prerogative of being first called, evidently belongs to *Philip*, he being the first-fruits of our Lord's Disciples. For though *Andrew* and *Peter* were the first that came to, and conversed with *Christ*, yet did they immediately return to their Trade again, and were not called to the Discipleship

* *Symmat. lib. 3. p. 435.* till above a whole year after, when *John* was cast into prison. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, that it was *Philip*, to whom our Lord said (when he would have excused himself at present, that he must go bury his Father) *Let the dead bury their dead, but follow thou me*. But besides that he gives no account, whence he derived this intelligence, it is plainly inconsistent with the time of our Apostle's call, who was called to be a Disciple a long time before that speech and passage of our Saviour. It may seem justly strange that *Philip* should at first sight so readily comply with our Lord's command, and turn himself over into his service, having not yet seen any miracle, that might evince his *Messiahship*, and Divine Commission, nor probably so much as heard any tidings of his appearance; and especially being a *Galilean*, and so of a more rustic and unyielding temper. But it cannot be doubted but that he was admirably verted in the writings of *Moses* and the *Prophets*. * *Metaphrastes* assures us (though how he came to know it otherwise than by conjecture, I cannot imagine) that from his childhood he had excellent education, that he frequently read over *Moses* his Books, and considered the Prophecies that related to our Saviour: And was no question awakened with the general expectations that were then on foot among the *Jews* (the date of the Prophetick Scriptures concerning the time of *Christ's* coming being now run out) that

* *Apud Sur. ad diem 1. Maii. Tom. 4.*

the *Messiah* would immediately appear. Add to this, that the Divine Grace did more immediately accompany the command of *Christ*, to incline and dispose him to believe, that this person was that very *Messiah* that was to come.

3. NO sooner had Religion taken possession of his mind, but like an active principle it began to ferment, and diffuse it self. Away he goes, and finds *Nathanael*, a person of note and eminency, acquaints him with the tidings of the new-found *Messiah*, and conducts him to him. So forward is a good man to draw and direct others in the same way to happiness with himself. After his call to the Apostleship much is not recorded of him in the Holy Story: 'Twas to him that our Saviour propounded the question, What they should doe for so much bread in the Wilderness, as would feed so vast a multitude, to which he answered, That so much was not easily to be had; not considering, that to feed two or twenty thousand are equally easie to Almighty Power, when pleased to exert it self. 'Twas to him that the *Gentile Preselytes* that came up to the *Passover* addressed themselves, when desirous to see our Saviour, a person of whom they had heard so loud a fame. 'Twas with him that our Lord had that discourse concerning himself a little before the last *Paschal* Supper. The holy and compassionate *Jesus* had been fortifying their minds with fit considerations against his departure from them, had told them, that he was going to prepare room for them in the Mansions of the Blessed, that he himself was the way, the truth, and the life, and that no man could come to the Father but by him, and that knowing him, they both knew and had seen the Father. *Philip* not duly understanding the force of our Saviour's reasonings, begged of him, that he would shew them the Father, and then this would abundantly convince and satisfy them. We can hardly suppose he should have such gross conceptions of the Deity, as to imagine the Father vested with a corporeal and visible nature; but *Christ* having told them that they had seen him, and he knowing that God of old was wont frequently to appear in a visible shape, he onely desired that he would manifest himself to them by some such appearance. Our Lord gently reproved his ignorance, that after so long attendance upon his instructions, he should not know, that he was the Image of his Father, the expresse characters of his infinite wisdom, power and goodness appearing in him, that he said and did nothing but by his Father's appointment, which if they did not believe, his Miracles were a sufficient evidence: That therefore such demands were unnecessary and impertinent, and that it argued great weakness after more than three years education under his discipline and institution to be so unskillfull in those matters. God expects improvement according to mens opportunities, to be old and ignorant in the School of *Christ*, deserves both reproach and punishment, 'tis the character of very bad persons, that they are ever learning, but never come Tim. 3. 7. to the knowledge of the truth.

4. IN the distribution of the several Regions of the World made by the Apostles, though no mention be made by *Origen* or *Eusebius*, what part fell to our Apostle, yet we are told by * others, that the *Upper Asia* was his Province (the reason doubtless why he is said by many to have preached and planted Christianity in *Scythia*) where he applied himself with an indefatigable diligence and industry to recover men out of the snare of the Devil, to the embracing and acknowledgment of the truth. By the constancy of his preaching, and the efficacy of his Miracles he gained numerous Converts, whom he baptized into the Christian Faith, at once curing both Souls and Bodies, their Souls of error and idolatry, their Bodies of infirmities and distempers, healing Diseases, dispossessing *Demons*, sealing Churches, and appointing them Guides and Ministers of Religion.

B b 2

5. HA-

* *S. Metaphr. Comm. de S. Philip. apud Sur. ad 1. Maii. Niceph. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 39. p. 200.*

Meaphr. &
Neceph. *ibid.*

* Admon. ad
Gent. p. 11.
|| Ad Ann. 54.
n. 3.

5. HAVING for many years successfully managed his Apostolical Office in all those parts, he came in the last periods of his life to *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, a City rich and populous, but answering its name in its Idolatrous Devotions. Amongst the many vain and trifling Deities, to whom they payed religious adoration, was a *Serpent* or *Dragon* (in memory no doubt of that infamous Act of *Jupiter*, who in the shape of a *Dragon* insinuated himself into the embraces of *Proserpina*, his own Daughter begot of *Ceres*, and whom these *Phrygians* chiefly worshipped, as * *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, so little reason had || *Baronius* to say that they worshipped no such God) of a more prodigious bigness than the rest, which they worshipped with great and solemn veneration. S. *Philip* was troubled to see the people so wretchedly enslaved to error, and therefore continually solicited Heaven, till by prayer and calling upon the name of *Christ*, he had procured the death, or at least vanishing of this famed and beloved Serpent : Which done, he told them, how unbecoming it was to give Divine honours to such odious creatures, that God alone was to be worshipped as the great Parent of the World, who had made Man at first after his own glorious Image, and when fallen from that innocent and happy state, had sent his own Son into the World to redeem him, who died, and rose from the dead, and shall come again at the last day, to raise men out of their Graves, and to sentence and reward them according to their works. The success was, that the people were ashamed of their fond Idolatry and many broke loose from their chains of darkness and betook themselves to Christianity. Whereupon the great enemy of mankind betook himself to his old methods, cruelty and persecution. The Magistrates of the City seized the Apostle, and having put him into Prison, caused him to be severely whipped and scourged. This preparatory cruelty passed, he was led to execution, and being bound, was hanged up by the neck against a Pillar, though others tell us, that he was crucified. We are farther told, that at his execution the Earth began suddenly to quake, and the ground whereon the People stood, to sink under them, which when they apprehended and bewailed as an evident act of Divine vengeance pursuing them for their sins, it as suddenly flopped, and went no farther. The Apostle being dead, his body was taken down by S. *Bartholomew*, his Fellow-sufferer, though not finally executed, and *Mariamme*, S. *Philip's* Sister, who is said to have been the constant companion of his travels, and decently buried, after which having confirmed the People in the Faith of *Christ*, they departed from them.

6. THAT S. *Philip* was married, is generally affirmed by the Ancients ; * *Clemens of Alexandria* reckons him one of the married Apostles, and that he had Daughters, whom he disposed in marriage : || *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* tells us, that *Philip* one of the twelve Apostles, died at *Hierapolis*, with two of his Daughters, who persevered in their Virginity, and that he had a third which died at *Ephesus*. The truth is, the not careful distinguishing between *Philip* the Deacon (who lived at *Cæsarea*, and of whose four Virgin-daughters we read in the History of the Apostles Acts) and our Apostle, has bred some confusion among the Ancients in this matter. Nay has made some conclude them to have been but one and the same person. But with how little reason, will appear to any one that shall consider, that *Philip* who was chosen to be one of the seven Deacons, could not be one of the Apostolical College, the Apostles declaring upon that occasion that they had affairs of a higher nature to attend upon : then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, it is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables ; wherefore look ye out among you seven men of honest report, &c. and they chose Stephen, and Philip, &c. among you] the body of the people, not from

* Strom. lib. 3.
p. 448.
|| Ap. Euseb. H.
Eccl. lib. 3.
c. 31. p. 102.
vid. Doroth. Syn.
myst. de vit. &
mors. Ap. B.
p. 148.
Acts 21. 8, 9.
vid. Irid. Pelus.
lib. 1. Epist. 447.
448. 449. 450.
p. 24. 25.

Acts 6. 2. 3. &c.

among the Apostles. So when upon the persecution that arose upon *Stephen's* death, the Church was dispersed, they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of *Judæa* and *Samaria* (and *Philip* the Deacon among the rest, who went down to the City of *Samaria*) except the Apostles, who tarried behind at *Jerusalem*. And when *Philip* had converted and baptized considerable numbers in that place, he was forced to send for two of the Apostles from *Jerusalem*, that so by Apostolical hands they might be confirmed, and might receive the Holy Ghost. Which had been wholly needless, had *Philip* himself been of the twelve Apostles. But it's needless to argue in this matter, the account concerning them being so widely different ; for as they differed in their Persons and Offices, the one a Deacon, the other an Apostle, so also in the number of their Children, four Daughters being ascribed to the one, while three only are attributed to the other. He was one of the Apostles who left no Sacred Writings behind him, the greater part of the Apostles (as * *Eusebius* observes) * *Lib. 3. cap. 24.* having little leisure to write Books, being employed in ministeries more immediately useful and subservient to the happiness of mankind : Though || *Epiphanius* tells us, that the Gnosticks were wont to produce a Gospel forged under S. *Philip's* name, which they abused to the patronage of their horrible principles, and more brutish practices. || Adv. Gnost. Hæres. 26. p. 45.

The End of S. Philip's Life.

T H E

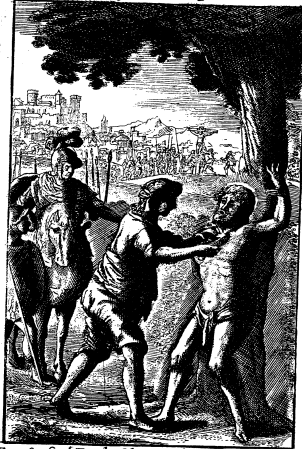
THE LIFE OF S. BARTHOLOMEW.

S. BARTHOLOMEW



He was flead alive by the command of a Barbarous King. Place this to the Collet for S. Bartholomew's day.

St. Bartholomew's Martyrdom.



Rom. 8. 36. *For the sake we are killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. But in all these things we are more than conquerours.*

The silence concerning this Apostle in the History of the Gospel. That he is the same with Nathanael, proved by many probable arguments. His title of Bar-tholmai, whence. The School of the Tholmæans. An objection against his being Nathanael answered. His descent and way of life. His first coming to Christ, and converse with him. In what parts of the World he planted the Christian Faith. His preaching in India, and leaving S. Matthew's Gospel there. His return to Hierapolis, and deliverance there from Crucifixion. His removal to Albanopolis in Armenia, and suffering Martyrdom there for the Faith of Christ. His being first flead alive, and then crucified. The fabulous Gospel attributed to him. A saying of his recorded by Dionysius Areopagita.

I. THAT

1. **T**HAT S. Bartholomew was one of the Twelve Apostles, the Evangelical History is most express and clear, though it seems to take no farther notice of him, than the bare mention of his name. Which doubtless gave the first occasion to many, both anciently and of later time, not without reason to suppose, that he lies concealed under some other name, and that this can be no other than *Nathanael*, one of the first Disciples that came to *Christ*. Accordingly we may observe, that as S. *John* never mentions *Bartholomew* in the number of the Apostles, so the other Evangelists never take notice of *Nathanael*, probably because the same person under two several names: And as in *John*, *Philip* and *Nathanael* are joined together in their coming to *Christ*, so in the rest of the Evangelists *Philip* and *Bartholomew* are constantly put together without the least variation; for no other reason, I conceive, than because they were jointly called to the Discipleship, so they are jointly referred in the *Apostolick* Catalogue; as afterwards we find them joint-companions in the writings of the Church. But that which renders the thing most specious and probable is, that we find *Nathanael* particularly reckoned up with the other Apostles, to whom our Lord appeared at the Sea of *Tiberias* after his Resurrection, where there were together *Simon Peter*, and *Thomas*, and *Nathanael* of *Cana* in *Galilee*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, and two other of his Disciples, who probably were *Andrew* and *Philip*. That by *Disciples* is here meant *Apostles*, is evident, partly from the names of those that are reckoned up, partly because it is said, that this was the third time that *Jesus* appeared to his Disciples, it being plain, that the two foregoing appearances were made to none but the Apostles.

2. **H**AD he been no more than an ordinary Disciple, I think no tolerable reason can be given, why in filling up the vacancy made by the death of *Judas*, he being so eminently qualified for the place, should not have been propounded as well as either *Barfabas* or *Matthias*, but that he was one of the Twelve already. Nor indeed is it reasonable to suppose, that *Bartholomew* should be his proper name, any more than *Bar-jona* the proper name of *Peter*, importing no more than his relative capacity, either as a Son, or a Scholar. As a Son it notes no more than his being בר חורין the son of *Tholmai*, a name not uncommon amongst the Jews, it being customary among them for the Son thus to derive his name, so *Bar-jona*, *Bartimeus*, the son of *Timeus*, &c. and to be usually called rather by this relative, than his own proper name, thus *Joseph* was called *Barfabas*, thus *Barnabas* constantly so styled, though his right name was *Joses*. Or else it may relate to him as a Disciple of some particular Sect and Institution among the Jews, it being a custom for Scholars out of a great reverence for their Masters, or first Instructors of that way, to adopt their names, as *Ben-ezra*, *Ben-uziel*, &c. And this will be much more evident, if the observation which * one makes be true (which yet I will not contend for) that as several Sects in the Jewish Church denominated themselves from some famous person of that Nation, the *Essenes* from *Enosh*, the *Sadducees* from *Sadeck*, so there were others that called themselves *Tholmæans*, from *Thalmi*, Scholar to *Heber* the ancient Master of the *Hebrews*, who was of the race or institution of the *Enakim*, who flourished in *Debir* and *Hebron*, with whom *Abraham* was confederate, that is, joined himself to their society. And of this Order and Institution, he tells us, *Nathanael* seems to have been, hence called *Bartholomew*, the Son or Scholar of the *Tholmæans*; hence said to be an *Israelite* indeed

* Belduc. de
Ecclef. post. Leg.
c. 7. p. 45.
vid. de Ecc. ant.
Leg. lib. 2. c. 8.

indeed, that is, one of the ancient race of the Schools and Societies of *Israel*. This, if so, would give us an account of his skill and ability in the Jewish Law, wherein he is generally supposed to have been a *Doctour* or *Teacher*. But whichsoever of these two accounts of his denomination shall find most favour with the Reader, either of them will serve my purpose, and reconcile the difference that seems to be between S. *John* and the other Evangelists about his name, the one styling him by his proper name, the other by his relative and paternal title. To all this, if necessary, I might add the consent of learned men, who have given in their suffrages in this matter, that it is but the same person under several * names. But hints of this may suffice. These arguments, I confess, are not so forcible and convictive as to command assent, but with all their circumstances considered, are sufficient to incline and sway any man's belief. The great and indeed only reason brought against it, is what * S. *Augustine* objected of old, that it is not probable that our Lord would chuse *Nathanael*, a *Doctour* of the Law, to be one of his Apostles, as designing to confound the wisdom of the World by the preaching of the Idiot and the unlearned. But this is no reason to him that considers, that this objection equally lies against S. *Philip*, for whose skill in the Law and Prophets there is as much evidence in the History of the Gospel, as for *Nathanael's*; and much stronger against S. *Paul*, than whom (besides his abilities in all humane Learning) there were few greater Masters in the Jewish Law.

3. **T**HIS difficulty being cleared, we proceed to a more particular account of our Apostle. By some he is thought to have been a Syrian, of a noble extract, and to have derived his pedigree from the *Ptolomies* of *Egypt*, upon no other ground, I believe, than the mere analogy and sound of the name. 'Tis plain, that he, as the rest of the Apostles, was a *Galilean*, and of *Nathanael* we know it is particularly said, that he was of *Cana* in *Galilee*. The Scripture takes no notice of his Trade or way of life, though some circumstances might seem to intimate that he was a Fisherman, which *Theodoret* affirms of the Apostles in general, and another particularly reports of our Apostle. At his first coming to *Christ* (supposing him still the same with *Nathanael*) he was conducted by *Philip*, who told him that now they had found the long-look'd for *Messiah*, so oft foretold by *Moses* and the Prophets, *Jesus* John 1. 45 of *Nazareth*, the son of *Joseph*: And when he objected that the *Messiah* could not be born at *Nazareth*, *Philip* bids him come and satisfy himself. At his first approach our Lord entertains him with this honourable character, that he was an *Israelite* indeed, a man of true simplicity and integrity; as indeed his simplicity particularly appears in this, that when told of *Jesus*, he did not object against the meanness of his Original, the low condition of his Parents, which could not be *Nazareth*, the Prophets having peremptorily foretold, that the *Messiah* should be born at *Bethlehem*. By this therefore he appeared to be a true *Israelite*, one that waited for redemption in *Israel*, which from the date of the Scripture-predictions he was assured did now draw nigh. Surprized he was at our Lord's salutation, wondering how he should know him so well at first sight, whose face he had never seen before. But he was answered, that he had seen him while he was yet under the *Fig-tree*, before *Philip* called him. Convinc'd with this instance of our Lord's Divinity, he presently made this confession, That now he was sure, that *Jesus* was the promised *Messiah*, the Son of God, whom he had appointed to be the King and Governour of his Church. Our Saviour told him, that if upon this in-

C c

ducement

* Ruperc. Tuit. Comm. in Joan. 1. Janfen. Concord. c. 17. Onuphr. in Fast. Salmer. Part. 2. p. 18. Dr. H. Annat. in Joh. 1. aliquot.

* Traſt. VII. in Joan. Ch. 68. Tom. 9. & in Psalm. LXV. Ch. 671. Tom. 8.

ducement he could believe him to be the *Messiah*, he should have far greater arguments to confirm his faith, yea, that e'er long he should behold the Heavens opened to receive him thither, and the Angels visibly appearing to wait and attend upon him.

4. CONCERNING our Apostle's travels up and down the World to propagate the Christian Faith, we shall present the Reader with a brief account, though we cannot warrant the exact order of them. That he went as far as *India*, is owned by all, which surely is meant of the *hither India*, or the part of it lying next to *Asia*; * *Socrates* tells us, 'twas the *India* bordering upon *Æthiopia*, meaning no doubt the *Asian Æthiopia* (whereof we shall speak in the life of S. *Thomas*) || *Sophronius* calls it the *Fortunate India*, and tells us, that here he left behind him S. *Matthew's* Gospel, whereof * *Eusebius* gives a more particular relation: That when *Pantænus*, a man famous for his skill in Philosophy, and especially the Institutions of the *Stoicks*, but much more for his hearty affection to Christianity, in a devout and zealous imitation of the Apostles, was inflamed with a desire to propagate the Christian Religion unto the *Eastern* Countries, he came as far as *India* itself. Here amongst some that yet retained the knowledge of *Christ*, he found S. *Matthew's* Gospel written in *Hebrew*, left here (as the tradition was) by S. *Bartholomew*, one of the twelve Apostles, when he preached the Gospel to these Nations.

5. AFTER his labours in these parts of the World, he returned to the more *Western* and *Northern* parts of *Asia*. At *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia* we find him in company with S. *Philip*, instructing that place in the principles of Christianity, and convincing them of the folly of their blind Idolatries. Here by the enraged Magistrates he was at the same time with *Philip* designed for Martyrdom; in order whereunto he was fastned upon the Cross, with an intent to dispatch him; but upon a sudden conviction that the Divine Justice would revenge their death, he was taken down again and dismissed. Hence probably he went into *Lycaonia*, the people whereof * *Chrysostome* assures us, he instructed and trained up in the Christian discipline. His last remove was to *Albanople* in *Armenia* the || *Great* (the same no doubt which * *Nicephorus* calls *Urbanople*, a City of *Cilicia*) a place miserably overgrown with Idolatry; from which while he sought to reclaim the people, he was by the Governour of the place commanded to be crucified which he cheerfully underwent, comforting and confirming the Convert *Gentiles* to the last minute of his life. || Some add, that he was crucified with his head downwards, others that he was flead, and his skin first taken off, which might consist well enough with his Crucifixion, excoriation being a punishment in use, not onely in *Egypt*, but amongst the *Persians*, next neighbours to these *Armenians* (as * *Ammianus Marcellinus* assures us, and || *Plutarch* records a particular instance of *Mesabates* the *Persian Eunuch* first flead alive, and then crucified) from whom they might easily borrow this piece of barbarous and inhumane cruelty. As for the several stages to which his Body removed after his death, first to *Daras*, a City in the borders of *Persia*, then to *Liparis*, one of the *Æolian* Islands, thence to *Beneventum* in *Italy*, and last of all to *Rome*, they that are fond of those things, and have better leisure, may enquire. *Hereticks* persecuted his memory after his death, no less than *Heathens* did his person while alive, by forging and fathering a fabulous Gospel upon his name, which, together with others of like stamp, * *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome* justly branded as *Apocryphal*, altogether unworthy the name and patronage of an Apostle. And perhaps of no better authority is the sentence, which *Dionysius* the pretended *Areopagite* records || of our Apostle, και πολλὴν τὴν θεολογίαν αὐτοῦ, και ἑλπίαν αὐτοῦ.

* H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 50.
|| Apud Hier. de Script. Eccl. in Barthol.
* H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 179.

* Serm. in SS. XII. App. p. 259.
T. 6.
|| Sophron. ap. Hieron. in Barthol.
* Lib. 2. c. 30. p. 201. vid. Metaphr. and Aug. 24.
|| Hippol. de App. ap. Bar. in Not. ad Martyr. ad Aug. 25.
Ibid. de SS. virg. ulque T. c. 77.
* Ann. Mart. lib. 23.
|| In vir. Attacker. p. 1019.
Vid. Greg. Turon. de glor. Martyr. lib. 1. c. 34. p. 46.

* Decret. Part. 1. Diffin. 15. c. 3. Scl. Catech. || De Mistic. Theol. 1. § 3. p. 2.

χρίστω. και τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν παρὰ καὶ μέγα, καὶ αὖτις συντέμμενον, that *Theology* is both copious, and yet very small; and the Gospel diffuse and large, and yet withall concise and short, which he according to his vein expounds concerning the boundless benignity, but withall incomprehensibleness of the Divine nature, which is βραχυλόγητος, εἶμα, καὶ ἀλογος, quickly dispatcht, because ineffable, and is not without the vail discoverable to any, but those that have got above not onely all sense and matter, but above all sense and understanding, that is, to the very height of mytical and intelligible Religion.

The End of S. Bartholomew's Life.

THE LIFE OF S. MATTHEW.

S. MATTHEW.



S. Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist preached the Gospel in Ethiopia and was there slain with an Indian Bow at Eleon Sept. 21.

St. Matthew his Martyrdom.



1 Pet. 3. 14. If ye suffer for righteousness sake happy are ye. &c. & he that suffers for righteousness shall not be troubled.

His Birth-place and Kindred. His Trade, the Office of a Publican. The great dignity of this Office among the Romans. The honours done to Vespasian's Father for the faithful discharge of it. This Office infamous among the Greeks, but especially the Jews. What things concurr'd to render it odious and grievous to them. Their bitter abhorrency of this sort of men. S. Matthew's employment wherein it particularly consisted. The Publican's Ticket what S. Matthew's call, and his ready obedience. His inviting our Lord to Dinner. The Pharisees cavil, and our Saviour's answer. His preaching in Judaea. His travels into Parthia, Ethiopia, &c. to propagate Christianity. The success of his Ministry. His Death. His singular contempt of the World.

World. Censured herein by Julian and Porphyry. His exemplary temperance and sobriety. His humility and modesty. Unreasonable to reproach Penitents with the vices of their former Life. His Gospel when and why written. Composed by him in Hebrew. The general consent of Antiquity herein. Its translation into Greek, when and by whom. The Hebrew Copy by whom owned and interpolated. Those now extant not the same with those mentioned in Antiquity.

1. SAINT Matthew, called also Levi, was, though a Roman Officer, an Hebrew of the Hebrews, (both his Names speaking him purely of Jewish extract and original) and probably a Galilean, and whom I should have concluded born at, or near Capernaum, but that the Arabic * Writer of his life tells us, he was born at Nazareth, a City in the Tribe of Zebulun, famous for the habitation of Joseph and Mary, but especially the education and residence of our Blessed Saviour, who though born at Bethlehem, was both conceiv'd and bred up here, where he lived the whole time of his private life, whence he derived the Title of Jesus of Nazareth. S. Matthew was the Son of Alphaeus and Mary, Sister or Kinswoman to the Blessed Virgin; in the same Arabic Authour his Father is called Duceu, and his Mother Karmat, both originally descended of the Tribe of Issachar, nothing being more common among the Jews, than for the same Person to have several names, these latter probably express'd in Arabic according to their Jewish signification. His Trade or way of life was that of a Publican or Toll-gatherer to the Romans (which probably had been his Father's Trade, his Name denoting a Broker or Money-changer) an Office of bad report among the Jews. Indeed among the Romans it was accounted a place of power and credit, and honourable reputation, not ordinarily conferred upon any but Roman Knights; inasmuch that T. Fl. Sabinus, Father to the Emperour Vespasian, was the Publican of the Asian Provinces, an Office which he discharged so much to the content and satisfaction of the People, that they erected Statues to him with this Inscription, ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗΣΑΝΤΙ *, To him that has well managed the Publican-office. These Officers being sent into the Provinces to gather the Tributes, were wont to employ the Natives under them, as Persons best skilled in the affairs and customs of their own Country. Two things especially concurred to render this Office odious to the Jews. First, that the Persons that managed it were usually covetous, and great Extortors; for having themselves farmed the Customs of the Romans, they must gripe and scrape by all methods of Extortion, that they might be able both to pay their Rent, and to raise gain and advantage to themselves: which doublets Zachaeus, the Chief of these Farmers, was sensible of, when after his Conversion, he offered four-fold restitution to any Man, from whom he had taken any thing by fraud and evil arts. And upon this account they became infamous, even among the Gentiles themselves, who commonly speak of them as Cheats, and Thieves, and publick Robbers, and worse members of a community, more voracious and destructive in a City, than wild Beasts in the Forest. The other thing that made the Jews so much detest them was, that this Tribute was not only a grievance to their Purses, but an affront to the liberty and freedom of their Nation; for they looked upon themselves as a Free-

born People, and that they had been immediately invested in this privilege by

* Apud Kirken.
Vit. 4. Evangel.
p. 28.

* Sueton. in vit.
Vespas. cap. 1.
p. 722.

Luke 19. 8.

Καὶ οὗτος τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ὀνόματι Ζαχαρίου.
Παῖςτος τελωνίου, πεινῶν καὶ ἀπορῶντος.
Xeno Comic. apud Dicaearch. de vit. Gracia.
cap. 4. p. 29.
ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐκράνθησε μὴν ὅτι συνέλαυν ὡς
ἀποπληνῆ, ἀπὸν ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀξίωτος δὲ
ἀλκυοντος ὡς ὅτι πικρὸν τὸν ἀνὴρα ὡς κακοφύλου.
Mufon. apud Stob. Serm. 2. de Malis. p. 31.
ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς ἀφ' οὗτος τὸν ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπου
ἐννοῶν, πικρὸν καὶ ἀπορῶντος ὡς ἀπορῶντος, ἀπορῶντος
ὡς ἀπορῶντος, ἀπορῶντος ὡς ἀπορῶντος. Suid. in voc.
τελωνίου.

by God himself, and accordingly beheld this as a daily and standing instance of their slavery, which of all other things they could least endure, and which therefore betrayed them into so many unfortunate Rebellions against the Romans. Add to this, that these Publicans were not only obliged by the necessity of their Trade to have frequent dealing and converse with the Gentiles (which the Jews held unlawfull and abominable) but that being Jews themselves they rigorously exacted these things of their Brethren, and thereby seemed to conspire with the Romans to entail perpetual slavery upon their own Nation. For though * Tertullian thought that none but Gentiles were employed in this forbid office, yet the contrary is too evident to need any argument to prove it.

2. BY these means Publicans became universally abhorred by the Jewish Nation, that it was accounted unlawfull to do them any office of common kindness and courtesy, nay they held it no sin to couzen and over-reach a Publican, and that with the solemnity of an Oath, they might not eat or drink, walk or travel with them; they were looked upon as common Thieves and Robbers, and Money received of them might not be put to the rest of a Man's Estate, it being presumed to have been gained by rapine and violence; they were not admitted as Persons fit to give testimony and evidence in any cause: so infamous were they, as not only to be banished all communion in the matters of Divine Worship, but to be shunned in all affairs of civil society and commerce, as the Pests of their Country, Persons of an infectious converse, of as vile a Class as Heathens themselves. Hence the common Proverb among them, Take not a Wife out of that Family, wherein there is a Publican, for they are all Publicans, that is, Thieves, Robbers, and wicked sinners. To this proverbial usage our Lord alludes, when speaking of a contumacious sinner, whom neither private reproofs, nor the publick censures and admonitions of the Church, can prevail upon, Let him be unto thee (says he) as an Heathen and a Publican; as elsewhere Publicans and sinners are yoked together, as Persons of equal esteem and reputation. Of this Trade and Office was our S. Matthew, and it seems more particularly to have consisted in gathering the Customs of Commodities that came by the Sea of Galilee, and the Tribute which Passengers were to pay that went by Water; a thing frequently mentioned in the Jewish writings, where we are also told of the *קשר* or *Ticker*, consisting of two greater Letters written in Paper, or some such matter, called *קשר* or *מסכת* the *Ticker* or *signature* of the Publicans, which the Passenger had with him to certify them on the other side the Water, that he had already paid the Toll or Custome: upon which account the Hebrew Gospel of S. Matthew published by Munster, renders Publican by *גזר*, *גזר* the Lord of the Passage. For this purpose they kept their Office or Custom-house by the Sea-side, that they might be always near at hand; and here it was (as S. Mark intimates) that Matthew had his Toll-booth, where He sat at the Receipt of Custome.

3. OUR Lord having lately cured a famous Paralytick, retired out of Capernaum to walk by the Sea-side, where he taught the People that flocked after him. Here he espied Matthew sitting in his Custom-office, whom he called to come and follow him. The Man was rich, had a wealthy and a gainfull Trade, a wife and prudent Person (no fools being put into that Office) and understood no doubt what it would cost him to comply with this new employment, that he must exchange Wealth for Poverty, a Custom-house for a Prison, gainfull Masters for a naked and despised Saviour. But he overlooked all these considerations, left all his Interests and Relations, to become our Lord's Disciple, and to embrace *παραίτατον τὸ ἀμαρτωλόν* (as * Chrysostome observes)

או
לך
מסכת
שש
בה
מסכת
שש
ביום
מסכת
מסכת
Matth. 18. 17.

vid. Buxtorf.
Lxx. in voc.
מסכת

March. 9. 9.
Mark 2. 13. 14.
Luke 5. 27.
28. 29.

* Homil. 11. in
1. ad Corinth.
p. 419.

observes) a more spiritual way of commerce and traffick. We cannot suppose that he was before wholly unacquainted with our Saviour's Person or Doctrine especially living at *Capernaum*, the place of *Christ's* usual residence, where his Sermons and Miracles were so frequent, by which he could not but in some measure be prepared to receive the impressions, which our Saviour's call now made upon him. And to shew that he was not discontented at his change, nor apprehended himself a loser by this bargain, he entertained our Lord and his Disciples at a great Dinner in his House, whither he invited his Friends, especially those of his own Profession, piously hoping that they also might be caught by our Saviour's converse and company. The *Pharisees*, whose *Eye* was constantly *evil*, where another Man's was *good*, and who would either find or make occasions to snarle at him, began to suggest to his Disciples, that it was unbecoming so pure and holy a Person as their Master pretended himself to be, thus familiarly to converse with the worst of men, *Publicans* and *sinners*, Persons infamous to a Proverb. But he presently replied upon them, that they were the *sick* that needed the *Physician*, not the found and healthy, that his company was most suitable, where the necessities of Souls did most require it, that God himself preferred acts of Mercy and Charity, especially in reclaiming sinners, and doing good to Souls, infinitely before all ritual observances, and the nice rules of Persons conversing with one another, and that the main design of his coming into the World was not to bring the *righteous*, or those who like themselves proudly conceived themselves to be so, and in a vain Opinion of their own strictness loftily scorned all Mankind besides, but *sinners*, modest, humble, self-convinced offenders, to *repentance*, and to reduce them to a better state and course of life.

4. A F T E R his election to the Apostolate, he continued with the rest till our Lord's Ascension, and then for the first eight Years at least Preached up and down *Judea*. After which being to betake himself to the Conversion of the *Gentile*-world, he was intreated by the Convert *Jews* to commit to Writing the History of our Saviour's Life and Actions, and to leave it among them as the standing Record of what he had Preached to them; which he did accordingly, and so composed his *Gospel*, whereof more in due place. Little certainty can be had what Travels he underwent for the advancement of the Christian Faith, so irrecoverably is truth lost in a crowd of Legendary stories.

* *Æthiopia* is generally assigned as the Province of his Apostolical Ministry. || *Metaphrastes* tells us, that he went first into *Parthia*, and having successfully planted Christianity in those Parts, thence travelled into *Æthiopia*, that is, the *Asiatick Æthiopia*, lying near to *India*: here by Preaching and Miracles he mightily triumphed over error and Idolatry, convinced and converted Multitudes, ordained spiritual Guides and Pastours to confirm and build them up, and bring over others to the Faith, and then finished his own course. As for what is related by * *Nicephorus* of his going into the Country of the *Cannibals*, constituting *Plato*, one of his followers, Bishop of *Myrmene*, of *Christ's* appearing to him in the form of a beautiful Youth, and giving him a Wand, which he pitching into the ground, immediately it grew up into a Tree, of his strange converting the Prince of that Country, of his numerous Miracles, peaceable Death, and sumptuous Funerals, with abundance more of the same stamp and coin, they are justly to be reckoned amongst those fabulous reports, that have no Pillar nor ground either of truth or probability to support them. Most probable it is (what an Ancient

* Writer affirms) that he suffered Martyrdom at *Naddaber* a City in *Æthiopia*, but by what kind of Death, is altogether uncertain. Whether this *Naddaber* be the

the same with *Beshbheri*, where the *Arabic* * Writer of his Life affirms him to have suffered Martyrdom, let others enquire: he also adds, that he was buried *Arthaganeu Cefarea*, but where that is, is to me unknown. || *Dorotheus* makes him honourably buried at *Hierapolis* in *Parthia*, one of the first places to which he Preached the Gospel.

5. HE was a great influence of the power of Religion, how much a Man may be brought off to a better temper. If we reflect upon his circumstances while yet a stranger to Christ, we shall find that the World had very great advantages upon him. He was become a Master of a plentiful Estate, engaged in a rich and a gainfull Trade, supported by the power and favour of the *Romans*, prompted by covetous inclinations, and these confirmed by long habits and customs. And yet notwithstanding all this, no sooner did Christ call, but without the least scruple or dissatisfaction, he flung up all at once, and not only renounced (as S. *Basil* * observes) his gainfull incomes, but ran an immediate hazard of the displeasure of his Masters that employed him, for quitting their service, and leaving his accounts entangled and confused behind him. Had our Saviour been a mighty Prince, it had been no wonder, that he should run over to his service: but when he appeared under all the circumstances of meanness and disgrace, when he seemed to promise his followers nothing but misery and suffering in this life, and to propound no other rewards but the invisible encouragements of another World, his change in this case was the more strange and admirable. Indeed so admirable, that *Porphyry* and || *Julian* (two subtle and acute adversaries of the Christian Religion) hence took occasion to charge him either with falsehood, or with folly; either that he gave not a true account of the thing; or, that it was very weakly done of him, so hastily to follow any one that call'd him. But the Holy *Jesus* was no common Person, in all his commands there was somewhat more than ordinary. Indeed S. *Hierome* conceives that besides the Divinity that manifested it self in his Miracles, there was a Divine brightness and a kind of Majesty in our Saviour's looks, that at first sight was attractive enough to draw Persons after him. However his miraculous powers, that reflected a lustre from every quarter, and the efficacy of his Doctrine accompanied with the grace of God, made way for the summons that were sent our Apostle, and enabled him to conquer all oppositions that stood in the way to hinder him.

6. HIS contempt of the World farther appeared in his exemplary temperance and abstemiousness from all the delights and pleasures, yea the ordinary conveniences and accommodations of it; so far from indulging his appetite with nice and delicate curiosities, that he refused to gratifie it with lawful and ordinary provisions, eating no flesh, his usual Diet being nothing but Herbs, Roots, Seeds and * Berries. But what appeared most remarkable in him, and which though the least virtue in it self, is the greatest in a wife Man's esteem and value, was his humility, mean and modest in his own conceit, in honour preferring others before himself. Whereas the other Evangelists in describing the Apostles by pairs, constantly place him before *Thomas*, he modestly places him before himself. The rest of the Evangelists openly mention the honour of his Apostleship, but speak of his former fordid, dishonest and disgracefull course of life, only under the name of *Levi*, while he himself sets it down, with all its circumstances, under his own proper and common name. Which as at once it commends his own candour and ingenuity, so it administers to us this not unusefull consideration,

D d

That

* Socr. l. c. 19. p. 50.
|| *Apud Sur.*
ad dict. 21.
Septemb. Vol. 3.
p. 217.

* H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 41. p. 203.

* *Inde triumphans fert India Bartholomæum:*
Matthæum eximium Naddaber alia vocem.
Ven. Fortun. de Senat. Cur. Cal. Poem. lib. 7. p. 817.

* *Ubi sup.*
p. 30.
Ibid. p. 31.
|| *Synop. de vit.*
et mort. App. in
Bibl. pp. Tom.
5. p. 148.

* *Reg. Julian.*
disput. Interrog.
VIII. pag. 545.
Tom. 2.

* *Ap. Hieron. in*
Matth. 5. p. 26.
Tom. 5.

* *Clem. Alex.*
Padag. lib. 2.
c. 1. p. 148.

Ceteri Evangelistæ in consuetudine nominum,
primum ponunt Matthæum, & postea Thomam:
iste vero & post Thomam se ponit, & publicanum
appellat, ut nobis abundavit iniquitas, superabundet
& gratia. Hieron. Comm. in Matth. c. 10. p. 25.
T. 5.

Ceteri Evangelisti nec Publicani nomen assumpserunt: re antiqua conversionis recordantur, Igitur Evangelistam solum. Hieron. ibid. Bava Media fol. 58. 2.

* Hieron. 51. p. 185.
H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 45. p. 213.
* Adv. Har. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 229.

/ Papias ap. Euseb. l. 3. c. 39. p. 113. Iren. l. 3. c. 1. p. 229. Origen. Exposit. in Matth. l. 5. ap. Euseb. lib. 6. c. 25. p. 226. Athan. Synops. Script. p. 492. Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. 14. p. 341. Epiphani. Har. 29. p. 52. Har. 51. p. 185. Chrysost. Homil. 1. in Matth. p. 4. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Matth. Pref. in 4. Evang. ad Dam. Tom. 3. p. 30. Et alibi. Ipsi, August. de Confess. Evang. lib. 1. c. 2. col. 272. Doroth. Synops. de vit. App. p. 148. Anast. Sinait. Hexam. lib. 8. Arabi. quidam in vit. MS. Matthæi. apud Kirken. de vit. Igitur. Evangel. in 10. p. 29. Paraphr. Syrus ad calc. Evangel. S. Matth. Ira. Arabi. Et versio Persic. Prefat. ad id. Evangel.

* Prefat. Comment. in Matth. pag. 2.
|| Synops. S. Script. p. 493.

* Sand. interpret. paradox. ad Matth. 28. 20.

That the greatest sinners are not excluded the lines of Divine grace; nor can any, if penitent, have just reason to despair, when *Publicans* and *sinners* are taken in. And as S. Matthew himself does freely and impartially record his own vile and dishonourable course of life, so the two other Evangelists, though setting down the story, take notice of him only under another name; to teach us to treat a penitent Brother with all modesty and tenderness. *Let a man repent* (say the Jews) *לֵאמֹר לוֹ וְיָחַר מַעֲשֵׂיוֹ* *Let no man say to him, remember thy former works, which they explain not only concerning Israelites, but even strangers and Proselytes.* It being against the rules of civility, as well as the Laws of Religion, when a Man hath repented, to upbraid and reproach him with the errors and follies of his past life.

7. THE last thing that calls for any remarks in the life of this Apostle is his Gospel, written at the intreaty of the Jewish Converts, and as Epiphanius tells * us, at the command of the Apostles, while he was yet in Palestine, about Eight Years after the death of Christ: though || Nicephorus will have it to be written Fifteen Years after our Lord's Ascension, and * Irenæus yet much wider, who seems to imply that it was written while Peter and Paul Preached at Rome, which was not according to the common account till near Thirty Years after. But most plain it is, that it must be written before the dispersion of the Apostles, seeing S. Bartholomew (as we have noted in his Life) took it along with him into India, and left it there. He wrote it in Hebrew, as primarily designing it for the use of his Country-men, and strange

it is, that any should question its being originally written in that Language, when the thing is so universally and uncontrollably asserted by all Antiquity, not one that I know of, after the strictest enquiry I could make, dissenting in this matter, and who certainly had far greater opportunities of being satisfied in these things, than we can have at so great a distance. It was no doubt soon after translated into Greek, though by whom S. Hieron professes he could not tell; * Theophylact says it was reported to have been done by S. John, but || Athanasius more expressly attributes the Translation to S. James the less.

The best is, it matters not much whether it was translated by an Apostle, or some Disciple, so long as the Apostles approved the Version, and that the Church has ever received the Greek Copy for Authentick, and reposed it in the Sacred Canon. And therefore when the late Arian advocate * brings in one of his party challenging the divine Authority of this Gospel, because but a Translation, he might have remembered 'tis such a translation, as has all the advantages of an Original, as being translated while the Apostles were yet in being to supervise and ratify it, and whose Authority has always been held sacred and inviolable by the whole Church of God. But the plain truth of the case is, S. Matthew is a back friend to the Antitrinitarian cause, as recording that express Command, *goe teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Which words must needs be supposititious, and added by some ignorant hand, for no other reason but because they make against them. Nay, the whole Gospel we see must be discarded, rather than stand in the way of a dear and below'd opinion.

8. AFTER the Greek Translation was entertained, the Hebrew Copy was chiefly owned and used by the * Nazaræi, a middle Sect of Men between Jews and Christians; with the Christians they believed in Christ, and embraced

embraced his Religion, with the Jews they adhered to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mosaic Law, and hence this Gospel came to be styled the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel of the Nazarenes. By them it was by degrees interpolated, several Passages of the Evangelical History, which they had heard either from the Apostles, or those who had familiarly conversed with them, being inserted, which the Ancient Fathers frequently refer to in their Writings; as by the || Ebionites it was mutilated, and many things cut off, for the same reason for which the followers of Cerinthus, though making use of the greatest part of it, rejected the rest, because it made too much against them. This Hebrew Copy (though whether exactly the same as it was written by S. Matthew, I will not say) was found among other Books in the Treasury of the Jews at * Tiberias, by Joseph a Jew, and after his Conversion a Man of great honour and esteem in the time of Constantine || S. Hierome assures us was kept in the Library at Cæsarea in his time, and another by the Nazarenes at Beræa, from whom he had the liberty to transcribe it, and which he afterwards translated both into Greek and Latin, with this particular observation, that in quoting the Texts of the Old Testament, the Evangelist immediately follows the Hebrew, without taking notice of the Translation of the Septuagint. A Copy also of this Gospel was Anno CCCCLXXXV. dug up and found in the Grave of Barnabas in Cyprus, transcribed with his own * hand. But these Copies are long since perished, * Theodor. Less. Collat. lib. 2. non longe ab init. p. 184. and for those that have been since published to the World, both by Tile and Munster, were there no other argument, they too openly betray themselves by their barbarous and improper style, not to be the genuine issue of that less corrupt and better Age.

The End of S. Matthew's Life.

(187)

THE LIFE OF S. THOMAS.

S. Thomas.



By the command of an Indian King he was thrust through with lance's Baron Martyrolog. Dec. 21

S. Thomas his Martyrdom.



John, 16. Thomas which is called Didonius said unto his fellow-disciples, Let us also goe, that we may see such things.

The custome of the Jews to have both an Hebrew and a Roman name. S. Thomas his name the same in Syriack and Greek. His Country and Trade. His call to the Apostleship. His great affection to our Saviour. Christi's discourse with him concerning the way to Eternal Life. His obstinate refusal to believe our Lord's Resurrection, and the unreasonableness of his Infidelity. Our Lord's convincing him by sensible demonstrations. S. Thomas his deputing Thaddæus to Abgarus of Edessa. His Travels into Parthia, Media, Persia, &c. Ethiopia, what, and where situate. His coming into India, and the success of his Preaching there. An account of his Acts in India from the relation of the Portugals at their first coming thither. His converting the King

King of Malipur. The manner of his Martyrdom by the Brachmans. The Miracles said to be done at his Tomb. His Bones dug up by the Portugals. A Croß, and several Brass Tables with Inscriptions found there. An account of the Indian or S. Thomas-christians, their Number, State, Rites, and way of life.

1. IT was customary with the Jews, when travelling into foreign Countries, or familiarly conversing with the Greeks and Romans, to assume to themselves a Greek or a Latin name, of great affinity, and sometimes of the very same signification with that of their own Country. Thus our Lord was called *Christ*, answering to his Hebrew title *Mashiach*, or the Anointed; *Simon* styled *Peter* according to that of *Cephas*, which our Lord put upon him: *Tabitha* called *Dorcas*, both signifying a Goat: Thus our S. Thomas according to the Syriack importance of his name, had the title of *Didymus*, which signifies a Twin, *Thomas* which is called *Didymus*. Accordingly the Syriack Version renders it, *Thauma*, which is called *Ἰσοῦλ* *Thama*, that is, a Twin: The not understanding whereof imposed upon Nonnus the Greek Paraphrast, who makes him *ἄνδρα διδυμῶν*, to have had two distinct names,

Nonn. Panop.
in Joan. c. 11.

Ἰδύμῳ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Ὀυμάς,
ὁ ὃν Διδύμων καλεῖται.

it being but the same name expressed in different Languages. The History of the Gospel takes no particular notice either of the Country or Kindred of this Apostle. That he was a Jew is certain, and in all probability a Galilean: He was born (if we may believe * *Symeon Metaphrastes*) of very mean Parents, who brought him up to the trade of Fishing, but withall took care to give him a more usefull education, instructing him in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereby he learnt wisely to govern his life and manners. He was together with the rest called to the Apostleship, and not long after gave an eminent instance of his hearty willingness to undergo the saddest fate that might attend them. For when the rest of the Apostles dissuaded our Saviour from going into Judea (whither he was now resolved for the raising his dear Lazarus lately dead) lest the Jews should stone him, as but a little before they had attempted it, S. Thomas desires them not to hinder *Christ's* journey thither, though it might cost their lives, *Let us also go that we may die with him*, probably concluding, that instead of raising Lazarus from the dead, they themselves should be sent with him to their own Graves. So that he made up in pious affections, what he seemed to want in the quickness and acumen of his understanding, not readily apprehending some of our Lord's discourses, nor over-forward to believe more than himself had seen. When the Holy Jesus a little before his fatal sufferings had been speaking to them of the joys of Heaven, and had told them that he was going to prepare, that they might follow him, that they knew both the place whither he was going, and the way thither: Our Apostle replied, that they knew not whither he went, and much less the way that led to it. To which our Lord returns this short but satisfactory answer, That he was the true living way, the Person whom the Father had sent into the World to shew Men the paths of Eternal life, and that they could not miss of Heaven, if they did but keep to that way, which he had prescribed and chalked out before them.

2. OUR

2. OUR Lord being dead, 'tis evident how much the Apostles were distracted between hopes and fears concerning his Resurrection, not yet fully satisfied about it: Which engaged him the sooner to hasten his appearance, that by the sensible manifestations of himself he might put the caie beyond all possibilities of dispute. The very day whereon he arose he came into the house where they were, while for fear of the Jews the doors were yet fast shut about them, and gave them sufficient assurance that he was really risen from the dead. At this meeting S. Thomas was absent, having probably never recovered their company, since their last dispersion in the Garden, when every ones fears prompted him to consult his own safety. At his return they told him that their Lord had appeared to them; but he obstinately refused to give credit to what they said, or to believe that it was he, presuming it rather a phantasm or mere apparition, unless he might see the very prints of the Nails, and feel the Wounds in his hands and sides. A strange piece of infidelity! Was this any more than what Moses and the Prophets had long since foretold? had not our Lord frequently told them in plain terms that he must rise again the third day? could he question the possibility of it, who had so often seen him do the greatest miracles: was it reasonable to reject the testimony of so many eye-witnesses, ten to one against himself, and of whose fidelity he was assured? or could he think that either themselves should be deceived, or that they would jest and trifle with him in so solemn and serious a matter? A stubbornness that might have betrayed him into an eternal infidelity. But our compassionate Saviour would not take the advantage of the Man's refractory unbelief, but on that day seven-night again came to them, as they were solemnly met at their devotions, and calling to Thomas, bad him look upon his hands, put his Fingers into the prints of the Nails, and thrust his Hand into the hole of his side, and satisfy his faith by a demonstration from sense. The man was quickly convinced of his error and obstinacy, confessing that he now acknowledged him to be his very Lord and Master, a God omnipotent, that was thus able to rescue himself from the powers of death. Our Lord replied no more, than that it was well he believed his own senses, but that it was a more noble and commendable act of Faith to acquiesce in a rational evidence, and to entertain the doctrines and relations of the Gospel upon such testimonies and assurances of the truth of things, as will satisfy a wise and sober man, though he did not see them with his own eyes.

3. THE Blessed Jesus being gone to Heaven, and having eminently given gifts and miraculous powers to the Apostles, S. Thomas moved thither by some Divine intimation, is * said to have dispatched *Thaddeus*, one of the Seventy Disciples to *Abgarus* Toparch of *Edeffa*, (between whom and our Saviour the letters commonly said to have passed are still extant in *Eusebius*) whom he first cured of an inveterate distemper, and after converted him and his subjects to the Faith. The Apostolical Province assigned to S. Thomas (as * *Origen* tells us) was *Parthia*, after which || *Sophronius* and others inform us, that he preached the Gospel to the *Medes*, *Persians*, *Carmanis*, *Hyrcani*, *Balrians*, and the neighbour Nations. In *Persia*, one of the * Ancients (upon what ground I know not) acquaints us, that he met with the *Magi* or *Wise-men*, who came that long journey from the East to bring presents to our newborn Saviour, whom he baptized, and took along with him as his companions and assistants in the propagation of the Gospel. Hence he preached || *Ethiopia*, that is, (that we may a little clear this

John 20. 19.

* Euseb. lib. 1.
c. 13. p. 32. &
lib. 2. c. 1. p. 39.

* Lib. 3. in Gen. ap. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 1. Socr.
lib. 5. c. 19. Clem. Recognit. lib. 9. p. 101. fac. 2.
|| Ap. Hier. de Script. in Thoma. Theod. de Leg.
Scrim. 5.

* Auth. Oper.
Imper. in Matth.
ap. Chryso.
Hom. 2. p. 775.
|| Chryso.
Sermon. in XII.
Ap. I. 6. p. 259.

by

* Apud Sur. ad
diem 21. Decemb.
no. 2.

John 11. 16.

John 14. 5.

|| *Hist. lib.* 5. c. 2.
p. 534.

* *Hefych. in*
voc. Συγγρη

|| *Bin. D. Benj.*
Tud. p. 98.
* *Lib. 7. c. 69.*
70. p. 408.

|| *H. Eccl. l. 2.*
c. 40. p. 201.

* *S. Metaphr.*
ad 21. Decem.
n. 8, 9.

* *Mass. Hist.*
Indic. lib. 2.
p. 85.

* *De glor.*
Martyr. lib. 1.
cap. 32. p. 41.

by the way) the *Asian Ethiopians*, conterminous to, if not the same with *Chaldaea*, whence || *Tacitus* does not only make the *Jews* descendants from the *Ethiopians*, as whose Ancestours came from *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*; but * *Hefychius* makes the Inhabitants of *Zagrus*, a Mountain beyond *Tygris*, Ἰθῶς Αἰθίοπων, a people of the *Ethiopians*; this is the שֵׁשׁ מִצְרַיִם mentioned by *Benjamin* the Jew in his || *Itinerary*, the land of *Cush* or *Ethiopia*, the Inhabitants whereof are styled by * *Herodotus*, οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰλίου ἀνατολίως Αἰθίοπες, the oriental *Ethiopians*, by way of distinction from those *Σαίρς Αἰθίοπες*, who lived South of *Aegypt*, and were under the same military Preecture with the *Arabians*, under the command of *Arsames*, as the other were joyned with the *Indians*, and in the same place are called οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες, the *Asian Ethiopians*. Having travelled through these Countries, he at last came to *India*. We are told by || *Nicephorus*, that he was at first unwilling to venture himself into those Countries, fearing he should find their manners as rude and intractable as their faces were black and deformed, till encouraged by a Vision, that assured him of the Divine Presence to assist him. He travelled a great way into those Eastern Nations, as far as the Island *Taprobane*, since called *Sumatra*, and the Country of the *Brachmans*, preaching every where with all the arts of gentleness and mild * perfwatives, not flying out into tart invectives, and furious heats against their Idolatrous practices, but calmly instructing them in the principles of Christianity, by degrees perfwading them to renounce their follies, knowing that confirmed habits must be cured by patience and long forbearing, by slow and gentle methods; and by these means he wrought upon the People, and brought them over from the grossest errors and superstition to the hearty belief and entertainment of Religion.

4. IN want of better evidence from Antiquity, it may not be amiss to enquire, what account the *Portugals* in their first discoveries of these Countries, received of these matters, partly from ancient Monuments and Writings, partly from constant and uncontrolled Traditions, which the *Christians* whom they found in those parts, preserved amongst them. They tell * us, that *S. Thomas* came first to *Socotora*, an Island in the *Arabian Sea*, thence to *Cranganor*, where having converted many, he travelled farther into the *East*, and having successfully preached the Gospel, returned back into the Kingdom of *Cormandel*, where at *Malipur*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, not far from the influx of *Ganges* into the Gulph of *Bengala*, he began to erect a place for Divine worship, till prohibited by the Priests, and *Sagamo*, Prince of that Country. But upon the conviction of several miracles the work went on, and the *Sagamo* himself embraced the Christian Faith, whose example was soon followed by great numbers of his friends and subjects. The *Brachmans*, who plainly perceived that this would certainly spoil their Trade, and in time extirpate the Religion of their Country, thought it high time to put a stop to this growing Novelism, and resolved in Council, that some way or other the Apostle must be put to death. There was a Tomb not far from the City, whither the Apostle was wont to retire to his solitudes and private devotions; hither the *Brachmans* and their armed followers pursue the Apostle, and while he was intent at prayer, they first load him with darts and stones, till one of them coming nearer, ran him through with a *Lance*. His Body was taken up by his Disciples, and buried in the Church which he had lately built, and which was afterwards improved into a fabrick of great stateliness and magnificence. *Gregory* of * *Tours* relates many miracles done upon the annual solemnities of his Martyrdom, and one standing miracle, an account whereof, he tells us, he received

received from one *Theodorus*, who had himself been in that place, viz. that in the Temple where the Apostle was buried there hung a Lamp before his Tomb, which burnt perpetually, without Oil or any Fewel to feed and nourish it, the light whereof was never diminished, nor by wind or any other accident could be extinguished. But whether Travellers might not here-in be imposed upon by the crafty artifices of the Priests, or those who did attend the Church; or if true, whether it might not be performed by art, I leave to others to enquire. Some will have his Body to have been afterwards translated to *Edeffa*, a City in *Mesopotamia*, but the Christians in the *East* constantly affirm it to have remained in the place of his Martyrdom, where (if we may believe || relations) it was after dug up with great cost and care at the command of *Don Emanuel Frea*, Governour of the Coast of *Cormandel*, and together with it was found the Bones of the *Sagamo*, whom he had converted to the Faith.

5. WHILE *Don Alfonso Sousa*, one of the first Vice-Rois in *India* under *John* the Third, King of *Portugal*, resided in these Parts; certain Bras Tables were brought to him, whose ancient Inscriptions could scarce be read, till at last, by the help of a Jew, an excellent Antiquary, they were found to contain nothing but a donation made to *S. Thomas*, whereby the King, who then reigned, granted to him a piece of ground for the building of a Church. They tell us also of a famous Cross found in *S. Thomas* his Chapel at *Malipur*, wherein was an unintelligible Inscription, which by a Learned *Bramin* (whom they compelled to read and expound it) gave an account to this effect, That *Thomas* a Divine person was sent into those Countries by the Son of God in the time of King *Sagamo*, to instruct them in the knowledge of the true God, that he built a Church, and performed admirable Miracles, but at last while upon his Knees at Prayer was by a *Brachman* thrust through with a Spear; and that that Cross stained with his blood had been left as a memorial of these matters. An interpretation that was afterwards confirmed by another grave and learned *Bramin*, who expounded the Inscription to the very same effect. The judicious Reader will measure his belief of these things by the credit of the Reporters, and the rational probability of the things themselves, which for my part as I cannot certainly affirm to be true, so I will not utterly conclude them to be false.

6. FROM these first plantations of Christianity in the Eastern India's by our Apostle, there is said to have been a continued series and succession of Christians (hence called *S. Thomas-Christians*) in those Parts unto this day. The *Portugals* at their first arrival here found them in great numbers in several places, no less as some tell us, than fifteen or sixteen thousand Families. They are very poor, and their Churches generally mean and fordid, wherein they had no Images of Saints, nor any representations but that of the Cross; they are governed in Spirituals by an *High-Priest* (whom some make an *Armenian* Patriarch, of the Sect of *Nestorius*, but in truth is no other than the Patriarch of *Mazal*, the remainder, as is probable, of the ancient *Seleucia*, and by some though erroneously, styled *Babylon*) residing north-ward in the Mountains, who, together with twelve Cardinals, two Patriarchs and several Bishops, disposes of all affairs referring to Religion; and to him all the Christians of the *East* yield subjection. They promiscuously admit all to the Holy Communion, which they receive under both kinds of Bread and Wine, though instead of Wine, which their Country affords not, making use of the juice of Raisons, steep'd one Night in Water, and then pressed forth. Children, unless in case of sickness, are not

E e

baptized

Ofor. de reb.
Emman. lib. 3.
p. 120.

Ofor. ibid. p. 119. & seq. Mass. lib. 2. p. 82. Joseph. Ind. Navig. Inter Relat. Nov. Orb. c. 132, 134 p. 204. vid. M. Paul Ven. lib. 3. c. 17. ibid. p. 324.

baptized till the Fortieth day. At the death of Friends, their kindred and relations keep an Eight-days feast in memory of the departed. Every Lord's day they have their publick Assemblies for Prayer and Preaching, their devotions being managed with great reverence and solemnity. Their Bible, at least the New Testament, is in the *Syrack* Language, to the study whereof the Preachers earnestly exhort the People. They observe the times of *Advent* and *Lent*, the *Festivals* of our Lord, and many of the *Saints*, those especially that relate to *S. Thomas*, the *Dominica in Albis*, or Sunday after *Easter*, in memory of the famous confession which *S. Thomas* on that day made of *Christ*, after he had been sensibly cured of his unbelief; another on the first of *July*, celebrated not onely by Christians, but by *Moors* and *Pagans*, the People who come to his Sepulchre on Pilgrimage carrying away a little of the red Earth of the place where he was interred, which they keep as an inestimable treasure, and conceit it sovereign against Diseases. They have a kind of *Monasteries* of the *Religious*, who live in great abstinence and chastity. Their Priests are shaven in fashion of a Cross, have leave to marry once, but denied a second time: No marriages to be dissolved but by Death. These rites and customs they solemnly pretend to have derived from the very time of *S. Thomas*, and with the greatest care and diligence do observe them at this Day.

The End of S. Thomas's Life.

THE

THE LIFE OF S. JAMES the Less.

S. JAMES Minor



The Apostle being a Kinsman of our Lord, and havinge bene first Bishop of Jerusalem, was call'd from the top of the temple and

The Martyrdom of St. James y^e lesse

Matth. 23. 37. O Jerusalem, how many thou that killest the prophets, & stonest them which are sent unto thee.

S. James the Less proved to be the same with him that was Bishop of Jerusalem. His Kindred and Relations. The Son of Joseph by a former Wife. The Brethren of our Lord, who. His Country what. Our Lord's appearance to him after his Resurrection. Invested in the See of Jerusalem by whom and why. His authority in the Synod at Jerusalem. His great diligence and fidelity in his Ministry. The conspiracy of his Enemies to take away his Life. His Discourse with the Scribes and Pharisees about the Messiah. His Martyrdom, and the manner of it. His Burial where. His Death repented by the Jews. His strictness in Religion. His Priesthood whence. His singular delight in Prayer, and efficacy in it. His great love and charity to Men.

Ec 2

His

THE LIFE OF S. SIMON the Zealot.

S. SIMON



Simon Zealotes preached in Egypt Africa and Britaine and
heighth was crucified. Nicoph. l. i. c. 40. Baron. Oct. 28.

S. Simon's Martyrdom.



Math. 10. 36. Behold I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves
1. Cor. 4. 9. God hath appointed us to death, for we are made a spectacle to the
world, and to Angels, and to men.

His Kindred. Whence styled the Cananite, and the Zealot. An enquiry into the nature and temper, and original of the Sect of the Zealots among the Jews. An account of their wild and licentious practices. This no reflexion upon our Apostle. In what parts of the World he preached the Gospel. His planting Christianity in Africk. His removal into the West, and preaching in Britain. His Martyrdom there. By whom said to have preached and suffered in Persia. The difference between him and Symeon Bishop of Jerusalem.

Matth. 10. 4.
Mark 3. 18.

* Niceph. H.
Ecd. lib. 8. c. 30.
p. 595.

Luke 6. 15.
Acts 1. 13.

* Ζαχαρίας δὲ καὶ
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰάκωβος
καὶ Ἰούδας καὶ
Σίμων καὶ Ἰσκαριώτης
καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀδελφὸς
Σίμωνος. H. Ecd.
lib. 2. c. 40.
p. 202.
* Ζαχαρίας καὶ
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰάκωβος
καὶ Ἰούδας καὶ
Σίμων καὶ Ἰσκαριώτης.
Suid. in voc. Ζη
μαρτῶν.

* De Hidd. c. 2.
Sect. 12. pag. 197.

Phil. 106. 30.
Numb. 25. 11-13.

De Bell. Jud.
lib. 4. vv. 11. 12.
p. 871. & seqt.

1. SAINT Simon the Apostle was, as some think, one of the four Brothers of our Saviour, Sons of Joseph by his former marriage, though no other evidence appear for it, but that there was a Simon one of the number; too infirm a foundation to build any thing more upon than a mere conjecture. In the Catalogue of the Apostles he is styled *Simon the Cananite*; whence some, led by no other reason than I know of, than the bare sound of the name, have concluded him born at *Cana in Galilee*; as for the same reason * others have made him the *Bridegroom*, at whose marriage our Lord was there present, when he honoured the solemnity with his first Miracle, turning Water into Wine. But this word has no relation to his Country, or the place from whence he borrowed his Original, as plainly defending from קנא or קנאות which signifie *Zeal*, and denote a hot and sprightly temper. Therefore what some of the Evangelists call *Cananite*, others rendering the *Hebrew* by the *Greek* word style, *Simon Zelotes*, or the *Zealot*: So called, not (as * *Nicephorus* thinks) from his burning zeal, and ardent affection to his Master, and his eager desire to advance his Religion in the World, but from his warm active temper, and zealous forwardness in some particular way and profession of Religion before his coming to our Saviour.

2. FOR the better understanding of this we are to know, that as there were several Sects and Parties among the *Jews*, so was there one, either a distinct Sect, or at least a branch of the *Pharisees*, called the Sect of the *Zealots*: They were mighty assertors of the honour of the Law, and the strictness and purity of Religion, assuming a liberty to themselves to question notorious offenders, without slaying for the ordinary formalities of Law, nay, when they thought good, and when the case required, executing capital vengeance upon them. Thus when a Blasphemer cursed God by the name of any Idol (says * *Maimonides*) the קנאים or *Zealots* that next met him might immediately kill him, without ever bringing him לבית דין before the *Sanhedrim*. They looked upon themselves as the Successors of *Phineas*, who in a mighty passion for the honour of God, did immediate execution upon *Zimri* and *Cozbi*. An act which was counted unto him for righteousness unto all posterities for evermore, and God so well pleased with it, that he made with him and his seed after him the covenant of an everlasting Priesthood, because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for *Israel*. In imitation whereof these men took upon them to execute judgment in extraordinary cases, and that not only by the connivance, but with the leave both of the Rulers and the People, till in after-times under a pretence of this, their zeal degenerated into all manner of licentiousness and wild extravagance, and they not only became the Pests of the Commonwealth at home, but opened the door for the *Romans* to break in upon them, to their final and irrecoverable ruine; they were continually prompting the People to throw off the *Roman* yoke, and vindicate themselves into their native liberty, and when they had turned all things into hurry and confusion, themselves in the mean while fished in these troubled Waters. *Josephus* gives a large account of them, and every-where bewails them as the great plague of the Nation. He tells us of * them, that they scrupled not to rob any, to kill many of the prime of Nobility, under pretence of holding correspondence with the *Romans*, and betraying the liberty of their Country, openly glorying that herein they were the Benefactors and Saviours of the People. They abrogated the succession of ancient Families, thrusting obscure and ignoble Persons into the High-priest's Office, that so they might oblige the most infamous Villains to their Party; and as if not content to injure Men, they affronted Heaven, and proclaimed defiance to the Divinity it self, breaking

king into and profaning the most holy place. Styling themselves *Zealots* (says he) as if their undertakings were good and honourable, while they were greedy and envious of the greatest wickednesses, and out-did the worst of men. Many attempts were made, especially by *Annas* the High-priest, to reduce them to order and sobriety. But neither force of arms, nor fair and gentle methods could do any good upon them; they held out, and went on in their violent proceedings, and joining with the *Idumeans*, committed all manner of out-rage, slaying the High-priests themselves. Nay, when *Jerusalem* was strictly besieged by the *Roman* Army, they ceased not to create tumults and factions within, and were indeed the main cause of the *Jews* ill success in that fatal War. 'Tis probable, that all that went under the notion of this Sect were not of this wretched and ungovernable temper, but that some of them were of a better make, of a more sober and peaceable disposition: And as it is not to be doubted, but that our *Simon* was of this Sect in general, so there's reason to believe he was of the better sort. However this makes no more reflexion upon his being called to the Apostleship, than it did for *S. Matthew*, who was before a *Publican*, or *S. Paul's* being a *Pharisee*, and so zealously persecuting the Church of God.

3. BEING invested in the Apostolical Office, no farther mention appears of him in the History of the Gospel. Continuing with the Apostles till their dispersion up and down the World, he then applied himself to the execution of his charge. He is * said to have directed his journey towards *Egypt*, thence * to *Cyrene*, and *Africk* (this indeed || *Baronius* is not willing to believe, being desirous that *S. Peter* should have the honour to be the first that planted Christianity in *Africa*) and throughout *Mauritania* and all *Libya*, preaching the Gospel to those remote and barbarous Countries. Nor could the coldness of the Climate benumb his zeal, or hinder him from shipping himself and the Christian Doctrine over to the *Western* Islands, yea, even to *Britain* it self. Here he preached, and wrought many miracles, and after infinite troubles and difficulties which he underwent (if we may believe our Authors, whom, though *Baronius* in this case makes no great account of, yet never scruples freely to use their verdict and suffrage when they give in evidence to his purpose) suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of *Christ*, as is not only affirmed by * *Nicephorus* and || *Dorotheus*, but expressly owned in the *Greek * Menologies*, where we are told, that he went at last into *Britain*, and having enlightened the minds of many with the Doctrine of the Gospel, was crucified by the *Isidels*, and buried there.

4. I KNOW indeed that there want not those who tell * us, that after his preaching the Gospel in *Egypt*, he went into *Mesopotamia*, where he met with *S. Jude* the Apostle, and together with him took his journey into *Persia*, where having gained a considerable harvest to the *Christian* Faith, they were both crowned with Martyrdom; which *Baronius* himself confesses to be founded upon no better authority, than the *Fallons of the Apostles*, a Book which at every turn he rejects as trifling and impertinent, as false and fabulous. But however, wide is the mistake of || those who confound our Apostle with *Symeon* the son of *Cleophas*, Successor to *S. James* the *Just* in the See of *Jerusalem*, who was crucified in the hundred and twentieth year of his Age, in the persecution under *Trajan*: The different character of their persons, and the account both of their Acts and Martyrdoms being sufficiently distinguished in the Writings of the Church.

The End of S. Simon's Life.

T H E

* Niceph. loc.
supra laudat.
|| Ad Ann. 44.
n. 38.

Ubi supra.

* Niceph. ib.
|| Dorothe. in Syn.
opul. de vit. App.
p. 148.

* Symeon f. de
Betransia yvli.
Ann. 68. n. 7.

* Sophron. apud
Hierone. de Script.
Ecd. in Simone.
Histor. de vit. &
viti. SS. uniusq.
que T. cap. 83.

THE LIFE OF S. J U D E.

St. Jude.



Math. 15. 54. Is not this the Carpenter's Son, & not his Brother James, & Joseph, & Simon, & JUDAS?
A. 6. 16. Judas the Brother of James.

His Martyrdom.



Having preached the Gospel in Melopotamia, he went into Persia, where after he had gained great numbers to Christianity, he suffered martyrdom. Martyrol. Rom Oct. 28.

The several names attributed to him in the Gospel. Thaddæus, whence. The custome of the Jews to alter their names, when bearing affinity with the great name Jehovah. The name Judas why distastefull to the Apostles. Lebbaeus, whence derived. His Parentage, and Relation to our Lord. The Question put by him to Christ. Whether the same with Thaddæus sent to Edeffa. In what places he preached. His death. His married condition. The story of his Grandchildren brought before Domitian. His Epistle, and why questioned of old. Its Canonicalness vindicated. The Book of Enoch, and what its authority. The contention between Michael and the Devil about Moses his Body, whence borrowed. S. Jude proved to be the Authour of this Epistle. Grotius

his

his conceit of its being written by a younger Jude, rejected. Its affinity with the Second Epistle of S. Peter. The design of it.

I. **T**HERE are three several names by which this Apostle is described in the History of the Gospel, *Jude, Thaddæus and Lebbaeus*, it being usual in the holy Volumes for the same person to have more proper names than one. For the first, it was a name common amongst the Jews, recommended to them as being the name of one of the great Patriarchs of their Nation. This name he seems to have changed afterwards for *Thaddæus*, a word springing from the same root, and of the very same import and signification, which might arise from a double cause: Partly from the superstitious veneration, which the Jews had for the name *Jehova* (the *Nomen reverendissimum*, or name consisting of four letters) which they held unlawfull to be pronounced by any but the High-priest, and not by him neither, but at the most solemn times. Hence it was, that when any Man had a name, wherein there was the major part of the letters of this ineffable title (and such was *Jehuda* or *Juda*) they would not rashly pronounce it in common usage, but chose rather to mould it into another like it, and of the same importance, or that which had a near affinity and resemblance with it: Partly from a particular dislike of the name of *Judas* among the Apostles, the bloody and treasonable practices of *Judas Iscariot* having rendered that name very odious and detestable to them. To prevent therefore all possibility of mistake, and that they might not confound the righteous with the wicked, *S. Matthew* and *Mark* never call him by this, but by some other name; as no question for the same reason he both styles himself, and is frequently called by others, *Judas the Brother of James*; and that this was one great design of it, the Evangelist plainly intimates, when speaking of him, he says, *Judas not Iscariot*. For his name *Lebbaeus*, it seems to have been derived either from לבב an heart, whence *S. Hierome* renders it *Coraculum*, probably to denote his wisdom and prudence, or else from לב a Lion, and therein to have respect to old *Jacob's* prophecy concerning *Judah*, *That he should be as a Lion, an old Lion, and as a Lion's whelp*, which probably might have a main stroke in fastning this name upon *S. Jude*. From this Patriarchal prophecy, we are told, that one of the Schools or Synagogues of Learned Men among the Jews (who to avoid confusion were wont to distinguish themselves by different appellations) took occasion to denominate themselves *Labbii*, as accounting themselves the Scholars and descendants of this Lion-like son of *Jacob*; and that *S. Jude* was of this society, and because of his eminency among them retained the title of *Labbus*, or as it was corruptly pronounced, *Lebbaeus*. I confess I should have thought the conjecture of a Learned man very probable, that he might have derived this name from the place of his nativity, as being born at *Lebba*, a Town which, he tells us, *Pliny* speaks of in the Province of *Galilee*, not far from *Carmel*, but that it is not *Lebba*, but *Jebba* in all Copies of *Pliny* that I have seen. But let the Reader please himself in which conjecture he likes best.

2. **F**OR his Descent and Parentage, he was of our Lord's Kindred, * *Nicephorus* truly making him the son of *Joseph*, and Brother to *James Bishop of Jerusalem*; that there was a *Jude* one of the number is very evident, Are not his Brethren *James*, and *Joses*, and *Simon*, and *Judas*: which makes me the more to wonder at *Scaliger*, who so confidently denies that any of the Evangelists ever mention a *Jude the brother of our Lord*. *S. Hierome* seems often to confound him with *Simon the Zealot*, whose title he ascribes to him, though second thoughts set him right, as indeed common advertency could

doe

do no less, so plain is the account which the Evangelists give of this matter. When called to the Discipleship we find not, as not meeting with him, till we find him enumerated in the Catalogue of Apostles; nor is any thing particularly recorded of him afterwards, more than one question that he propounded to our Saviour, who having told them what great things he and his Father would do e and what particular manifestations after his Resurrection he would make of himself to his sincere disciples and followers, *S. Jude* (whose thoughts as well as the rest were taken up with the expectations of a temporal Kingdom of the *Messiah*) not knowing how this could consist with the publick solemnity of that glorious state they looked for, asked him, what was the reason that he would manifest himself to them, and not to the World. Our Lord replied, that the world was not capable of these Divine manifestations, as being a stranger, and an enemy to what should fit them for fellowship with Heaven; that they were only good Men, persons of a Divine temper of mind, and religious observers of his Laws and Will, whom God would honour with these familiar converse, and admit to such particular acts of grace and favour.

3. * *EUSEBIUS* relates that soon after our Lord's Ascension *S. Thoma* dispatched *Thaddæus the Apostle to Abgarus* Governour of *Edessa*, where he healed diseases, wrought miracles, expounded the doctrines of Christianity and converted *Abgarus* and his people to the Faith: For all which pains when, the *Teparch* offered him vast gifts and presents, he refused them with a noble scorn, telling him, they had little reason to receive from others, what they had freely relinquished and left themselves. A large account of this whole affair is extant in *Eusebius*, translated by him out of *Syriack* from the Records of the City of *Edessa*. This *Thaddæus* || *S. Hierome* expressly makes to be our *S. Jude*, though his bare authority is not in this case sufficient evidence; especially since *Eusebius* makes him no more than one of the seventy Disciples, which he would scarce have done, had he been one of the Twelve. He calls him indeed an Apostle, but that may imply no more than according to the large acception of the word, that he was a Disciple, a Companion, and an Assistant to them, as we know the Seventy eminently were. Nor is any thing more common in ancient Ecclesiastick Writers, than for the first planters and propagators of Christian Religion in any Country to be honoured with the name and title of Apostles. But however this be, at his first setting out to preach the Gospel, he went up and down *Judæa* and *Galilee*, then through *Samarita* into *Idumæa*, and to the Cities of *Arabia*, and the neighbour Countries, and after to *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. * *Nicephorus* adds, that he came at last to *Edessa*, where *Abgarus* was Governour, and where the other *Thaddæus*, one of the Seventy had been before him. Here he perfected what the other had begun, and having by his Sermons and Miracles established the Religion of our Saviour, drew a peaceable and a quiet death; though || *Dorotheus* makes him slain at *Berytus*, and honourably buried there. By the almost general consent of the Writers of the Latin Church he is said to have travelled into *Persia*, where after great success in his Apostolical Ministry for many years, he was at last for his free and open reproving the superstitious rites and usages of the *Magi* cruelly put to death.

4. **T**HAT he was one of the married Apostles sufficiently appears from his *Uxor*, or *Grandsons* mentioned by * *Eusebius*, of whom *Hegeppus* gives this account. *Domitian* the Emperor, whose enormous wickedness had awakened in him the quickest jealousies, and made him suspect every one that might look like a corvinal in the Empire, had heard that there were some of the line of *David*, and *Christ's* kindred that did yet remain. Two

G g

Grand-

John 14. 22.

* Bolduc. de Eccl. post leg. cap. 7. p. 47, 48.

† Lightf. H. Heb. in Matth. p. 147. || Hist. Nat. lib. 5. c. 79.

* H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 40. p. 202. Matth. 13. 55. Animado. in Euseb. Chron. ad Num. MDCXIII. p. 205.

|| Comment. in March. c. 10.

* Niceph. H. Eccl. 1. 2. c. 40. p. 202.

|| Smoll. de vita. Egmont. App. in Bibl. Pp. Tom. 3. p. 148.

* Apud Euseb. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 89.

Grandchildren of S. Jude the Brother of our Lord were brought before him: Having confessed that they were of the Race and posterity of David, he asked what possessions and estate they had: they told him that they had but a very few acres of Land, out of the improvement whereof they both paid him Tribute, and maintained themselves with their own hard labour, as by the hardness and callousness of their hands (which they then shewed him) did appear. He then enquired of them concerning Christ, and the state of his Kingdom, what kind of Empire it was, and when and where it would commence. To which they replied, That his Kingdom was not of this World, nor of the Seigniories and Dominions of it, but Heavenly and Angelical, and would finally take place in the end of the World, when coming with great glory, he would judge the quick and the dead, and award all Men recompences according to their works. The issue was, that looking upon the meanness and simplicity of the Men, as below his jealousies and fears, he dismissed them without any severity used against them; who being now beheld not only as Kinsmen, but as Martyrs of our Lord, were honoured by all, preferred to places of authority and government in the Church, and lived till the times of Trajan.

S. Jude left only one Epistle, of Catholick and universal concernment, inscribed at large to all Christians. It was some time before it met with general reception in the Church, or was taken notice of. The Author in several styles not himself an Apostle, but no more does S. James, S. John, nor sometimes S. Paul himself. And why should he fare the worse for his humility, only for calling himself the servant of Christ, when he might have added not only Apostle, but the Brother of our Lord? The best is, he has added what was equivalent, Jude the Brother of James, a character that can belong to none but our Apostle; beside, that the Title of the Epistle, which is of great Antiquity, runs thus, *The general Epistle of Jude the Apostle*. One great argument, as || S. Hierome informs us, against the authority of this Epistle of old, was its quoting a passage out of an Apocryphal Book of Enoch. This Book called the *Apocalypse of Enoch* was very early extant in the Church,

frequently mentioned, and passages cited out of it by Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and others, some of whom accounted it little less than Canonical. But what if our Apostle had it not out of this Apocryphal Book, but from some prophecy current from age to age, handed to him by common tradition, or immediately revealed to him by the Spirit of God? But suppose it taken out of that Book going under Enoch's name, this makes nothing against the authority of the Epistle; every thing, I hope, is not presently false, that's contained in an Apocryphal and Uncanonical writing, nor does the taking a single

testimony out of it any more infer the Apostles approbation of all the rest, than S. Paul's quoting a good sentence or two out of Menander, Aratus, and Epimenides, imply that he approved all the rest of the writings of those Heathen Poets. And indeed nothing could be more fit and proper than this way, if we consider that the Apostle in this Epistle chiefly argues against the Gnosticks, who mainly traded in such Traditionary and Apocryphal writings, and probably in this very Book of Enoch. The same account may be given of that other passage in this Epistle concerning the contention between Michael the Archangel and the Devil about the burial of Moses his Body, no where extant in the holy Records, supposed to have been taken out of a Jewish

writing

writing called מִשְׁרָת מֹשֶׁה or the Dismissal of Moses, mentioned by some of the Greek Fathers under the title of Ἀνάστασις Μωϋσέως, or the Ascension of Moses, in which this passage was upon record. Nor is it any more a wonder that S. Jude should do this, than that S. Paul should put down James and James for the two Magicians of Pharaoh that opposed Moses, which he must either derive from Tradition, or fetch out of some Uncanonical Author of those times, there being no mention of their names in Moses his relation of that matter. But be these passages whence they will, 'tis enough to us, that the Spirit of God has made them Authentick, and consecrated them part of the holy Canon.

6. BEING thus satisfied in the Canonicalness of this Epistle, none but S. Jude could be the Author of it; for who but he was the Brother of S. James? a character by which he is described in the Evangelical story more than once. * Grotius indeed will needs have it written by a younger Jude, * Annot. in init. Epist. Jud. that that Passage [the Brother of James] stood full in his way, he concludes without any shadow of reason, that it was added by some Transcriber. But is not this to make too bold with Sacred things? is not this to indulge too great a liberty? this once allowed, 'twill soon open a door to the wildest and most extravagant conjectures, and no Man shall know where to find sure-footing for his Faith. But the Reader may remember what we have elsewhere observed concerning the Posthume Annotations of that learned Man. Not to say that there are many things in this Epistle that evidently refer to the time of this Apostle, and imply it to have been written upon the same occasion, and about the same time with the second Epistle of Peter, between which and this there is a very great affinity both in words and matter, nay, there want not || some that endeavour to prove this Epistle to have been

|| Boldac. præf. Jud. in Epist. Jud. p. 106. ad calcem lib. de Eccl. p. 112.

De quo in Ascensione Mosi (Cujus libelli meminit in Epistola Apostolus Judas) Michael Archangelus cum Diabolo disputans de Corpore Mosi, ait Diabolo, Insipitatum sepe non casum extrinsece pravaricationis Ada & Eve. Origen. meli. Apoc. lib. 3. c. 2. fol. 142. p. 2. Plurimi erant alii libri antiquis sub nomine Mosi confecti, & in his liber dicitur Ἀνάστασις Μωϋσέως, memoratus Athanas. in Synop. S. Script. Tom. 2. p. 134. confer quæ ex hoc libro habet Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. 6. p. 679, 680.

The End of S. Jude's Life.

G g 2

T H E

* Euseb. lib. 2. c. 23. p. 66. & lib. 3. c. 25.

|| De Script. Eccl. in Juda.

Scio Scripturam Enoch, quæ hunc ordinem Angelis dedit, non recipi à quibusdam, quia nec in Armarium Judicium admittitur. Quoniam non putaverunt illam ante Cataclysmum editam, post eum eadem Orbis omnium verum abolitorem, salvam esse putasse. Si illa veritas quæ recorderetur, &c. Sed cum Enoch eadem Scripturam etiam de Domino prædicavit, à nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum est, quod pertinet ad nos. A Judæis potest jam citari præterea rejecta, sunt & cætera fere quæ Christum lauant. Et accedit quod Enoch apud Judæos Apostolorum testimonium possidet. Tertull. de Cult. Fæmin. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 151.

Vid. Hierom. Comment. in Tit. c. 1. p. 249. T. 9.

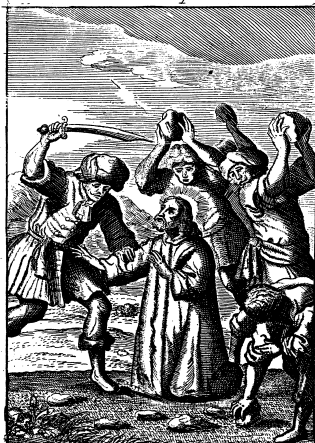
THE LIFE OF S. MATTHIAS.

S. MATTHIAS.



He preached the Gospel in Ethiopia, suffered Martyrdom and was buried there. *S. Hieron.*

St Matthias his Martyrdom. ~



Hebr. ii. 37. *They were stoned, they were slain, they were impaled, were slain with the sword.*

S. Matthias one of the Seventy. Judas Iscariot, whence. A bad Minister nulls not the ends of his Ministration. His worldly and covetous temper. His monstrous ingratitude. His betraying his Master, and the aggravations of the sin. The distraction and horror of his mind. The miserable state of an evil and guilty Conscience. His violent death. The election of a new Apostle: The Candidates, who. The Lot cast upon Matthias. His preaching the Gospel, and in what parts of the World. His Martyrdom when, where, and how. His Body whither translated. The Gospel and Traditions vended under his name.

I. SAINT

1. **S**AINTE *Matthias* not being an Apostle of the first Election, immediately called and chosen by our Saviour, particular remarks concerning him are not to be expected in the History of the Gospel. He was one of our Lord's Disciples (and probably one of the Seventy) that had attended on him the whole time of his publick Ministry, and after his death was elected into the Apostleship upon this occasion. *Judas Iscariot* (so called, probably, from the place of his nativity, *אשכנז* *ashkenaz* a man of Kerioth, a City anciently situate in the Tribe of *Judah*) had been one of the Twelve, immediately called by *Christ* to be one of his intimate Disciples, equally empowered and commisioned with the rest to preach and work Miracles, was numbered with them, and had obtained part of their Ministry. An I yet all this while was a Man of vile and corrupt designs, branded with no meaner a character, than *Thief and Murderer*. To let us see that there may be bad Servants in *Christ's* own Family, and that the wickedness of a Minister does not evacuate his Commision, nor render his Office useless and ineffectual. The unworthiness of the instrument hinders not the ends of the ministrifiration : Seeing the efficacy of an ordinance depends not upon the quality of the Person, but the Divine institution, and the blessing which God has entailed upon it. *Judas* preached *Christ* no doubt with zeal and fervency, and for any thing we know, with as much success as the rest of the Apostles ; and yet he was a bad Man, a Man acted for furd and mean designs, one that had prostituted Religion and the honour of his place to covetousness and evil arts. The love of Money had so intirely possessed his thoughts, that his resolutions were bound for nothing but interest and advantage. *But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare.* This covetous temper betrayed him, as in the issue to the most fatal end, so to the most desperate attempt, *אֲרִיֶּזֶת אֶת־הַמָּוֶלֶת וְאֶת־הַמָּוֶלֶת*, as *Origen* calls the putting *Christ* to death, the most prodigious impiety that the Sun ever shone on, the betraying his innocent Lord into the hands of those, who he knew would treat him with all the circumstances of insolent scorn and cruelty. How little does kindness work upon a disingenuous mind ! It was not the honour of the place, to which when thousands of other were passed by, our Lord had called him, the admitting him into a free and intimate fellowship with his person, the taking him to be one of his peculiar domesticks and attendants, that could divert the wretch from his wicked purpose. He knew how desirous the great Men of the Nation were to get *Christ* into their hands, especially at the time of the Passover, that he might with the more publick disgrace be sacrificed before all the People, and therefore bargains with them, and for no greater a sum than under four pounds, to betray the *Lamb of God* into the paws of these Wolves and Lions : In short, he heads the party, conducts the Officers, and sees him delivered into their hands.

2. BUT there's an active principle in Man's breast that seldom suffers daring Sinners to pass in quiet to their Graves : Awakened with the horror of the fact, Conscience began to rouse and follow close, and the Man was unable to bear up under the furious revenges of his own mind : As indeed all willful and deliberate sins, and especially the guilt of blood, are wont more fitly to alarm the natural notions of our minds, and to excite in us the fears of some present vengeance that will seize upon us. And how intolerable are those scourges that lash us in this vital and tender part ? The spirit of the Man sinks under him, and all supports fail afunder : As what ease or comfort can he enjoy, that carries a *Vulture* in his bosome, always gnawing and preying upon his heart ? Which made * *Plutarch* compare an

tually gripes and stings the Soul with the pains of an intolerable repentance. Guilt is naturally troublesome and uneasy, it disturbs the peace and serenity of the mind, and fills the Soul with storms and thunder.

And indeed how should he, when God has such a powerful and invisible executioner in his own bosom? Whoever rebels against the Laws of his duty, and plainly affronts the dictates of his Conscience, does that moment bid *adieu* to all true repose and quiet, and expose himself to the severe retributions of a self-tormenting mind. And though by secret arts of wickedness he may be able possibly to drown and stifle the voice of it for a while, yet every little affliction or petty accident will be apt to awaken it into horror, and to let in terror like an armed Man upon him. A torment infinitely heavier than

3. A VACANCY being thus made in the College of Apostles, the first thing they did after their return from Mount Oliver, where our Lord took his leave of them, to S. John's house in Mount Zion (the place, if we may believe * *Nicephorus*, where the Church met together) was to fill up their number * *H. Ecd. l. 21* with a fit proper Person. To which purpose *Peter* acquainted them, that *c. 1. p. 131.* *Judas*, according to the propheticall prediction, being fallen from his ministry, it was necessary that another should be substituted in his room, one that had been a constant companion and disciple of the holy *Jesus*, and consequently capable of bearing witness to his life, death and resurrection. Two were propounded in order to the choice, *Joseph* called *Barabas*, and *Justus* (whom some make the same with *Jefes* one of the brothers of our Lord) and *Matthias*, both duly qualified for the place. The way of election was by *Lots*, a way frequently used both among *Jews* and *Gentiles* for the determination of doubtful and difficult cases, and especially the chusing Judges and Magistrates: And this way was here taken (says one of the † Ancients) on purpose to comply with the old custom observed among the *Jews*, that in the election of an Apostle, they might not seem to depart from the way that had been

Contr. Celf.
lib. 4. p. 175.

* Τὸ μὲν σωτηρίας οἶεν ἔλκει ἐν σαρκεὶ, τῇ
ψυχῇ μεταμίλειαν ἀμύσσουσιν ἀπὸ καὶ γίνονται

† Ambros. *in*
Luc. c. l. p. 112

been used under the legal state, the *Pseudo-Dionysius*, || Author of the *Ecclesiastick Hierarchy*, together with his two * *Paraphrasts*, expressly says, that it was not a lot that was used in this case, to determine the matter, but *Σταχυ- Maxim. ib.*
 † 276. Pachym. *schu ni dōgēv, or σύμβολόν τι ἔκ Σταχυ-δός* *Jews*, some immediate and extraordinary sign from Heaven, falling upon the Candidate, and discovering him to be the person chosen by God. But this is directly contrary to the very words of the Sacred Story, which say, that *they gave forth the lots, and that the lot fell upon Matthias*. And this course the Apostles the rather took, because the *Holy Ghost* was not yet given, by whose immediate dictates and inspirations they were chiefly guided afterwards. And that the business might proceed with the greater regularity and success, they first solemnly make their address to Heaven, that the Omniscient Being that governed the World, and perfectly understood the tempers and dispositions of Men, would immediately guide and direct the choice, and shew which of these two he would appoint to take that part of the Apostolick charge, from which *Judas* was so lately fallen. The Lots being put into the Urn, *Matthias* his name was drawn out, and thereby the Apostolate devolved upon him.

4. NOT long after the promised powers of the Holy Ghost were conferred upon the Apostles, to fit them for that great and difficult employment, upon which they were sent: And among the rest *S. Matthias* betook himself to his Charge and Province. The first-fruits of his Ministry he spent in *Judea*, where having reaped a considerable harvest, he betook himself to other Provinces. An † *Authour*, I confess, of no great credit in these matters, tells us, that he preached the Gospel in *Macedonia*, where the *Gentiles* to make an experiment of his Faith and Integrity, gave him a poisonous and intoxicating potion, which he cheerfully drunk off, in the name of *Christ*, without the least prejudice to himself; and that when the same potion had deprived above two hundred and fifty of their sight, he laying his hands upon them, restored them to their sight: with a great deal more of the same stamp, which I have neither faith enough to believe, nor leisure enough to relate. The *Greeks* with more probability report him to have travelled *Eastward*, he came (says || *Nicephorus*) into the first, (says * *Sophronius*) into the second *Ethiopia*, and in both, I believe, it is a mistake, either of the Authours or Transcribers, for *Cappadocia*, his residence being principally near the irruption of the River *Apfarius*, and the Haven *Hyssus*; both places in *Cappadocia*. Nor is there any *Ethiopia* nearer those places than that conterminous to *Chaldea*, whereof before. And as for those that tell us, that he might well enough preach both in the *Asian* and *African Ethiopia*, and that both might be comprehended under that general name, as the *Eastern* and *Western* parts of the World were heretofore contained under the general title of the *India's*, it's a fancy without any other ground to stand on, than their own bare conjecture. The place whither he came was very barbarous, and his usage was accordingly. For here meeting with a People of a fierce and intractable temper, he was treated by them with great rudeness and inhumanity, from whom after all his labours and sufferings, and a numerous conversion of Men to Christianity, he obtained at last the crown of Martyrdom, *Ann. Chr. LXI.* or as others, *LXIV.*

Little certainty can be retrieved concerning the manner of his death. † *Do-*
 † *rotheus* will have him to die at *Sebastople*, and to be buried there near the Temple of the *Sun*. An ancient || *Martyrologie* reports him to have been seized by the *Jews*, and as a blasphemer to have been first stoned, and then beheaded.

But the * *Greek Offices*, seconded herein by several ancient *Breviaries*, tell us that he was crucified, and that as *Judas* was hanged upon a Tree, so *Matthias* suffered

suffered upon a Cross. His Body is said to have been kept a long time at *Jerusalem*, thence thought, by *Helena* the Mother of the Great *Constantine*, to have been translated to *Rome*, where some parts of it are shewed with great veneration at this day. Though * others with as great eagerness, and probably as much truth, contend that his Relicks were brought to, and are still preserved at *Triers* in *Germany*, a controverſie wherein I shall not concern myself. His memory is celebrated in the *Greek Church* August the IX, as appears not only from their *Menologies*, but from a Novel † constitution of *Manuel Comnenus*, appointing what *holy days* should be kept in the Church, while the *Western Churches* keep *February XXIV.* sacred to his memory. Among many other *Apocryphal* Writings attributed to the Apostles, there was a *Gospel* published under his name, mentioned by || *Eusebius* and the Ancients, and condemned with the rest by * *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome*, as it had been rejected by others before him: Under his name also there were extant *Traditions*, cited by (a) *Clemens of Alexandria*, from whence no question it was that the *Nicolaitans* borrowed that saying of his, which they abused to so vile and beastly purposes, as under the pretended patronage of his name and doctrines the *Marcionites* and (b) *Valentinians* defended some of their most absurd and impious opinions.

Manzon Græcor. ad diem IX. Augusti. apud Bolland. de vit. SS. ad Febr. XXIV. Tom. 3. p. 433.

* Vid. Chr. Brower. Annal. Trevesens. lib. 2. p. 438. & scriptores ex utraque parte contendentes ap. Bolland. loc. cit. p. 435. † Extat in Tw. Gr. Rom. lib. 2. p. 161. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 25. p. 97. Orig. in Luc. Hom. 10. Ambros. pref. in Luc. Tom. 5. p. 7. * Decr. Part. 12. Diff. 15. cap. Siml. Rom. Scilicet. Ceterum. (a) Strom. lib. 2. p. 380. lib. 2. p. 438. (b) Ilib. lib. 7. p. 75.

The End of S. Matthias's Life.

Hh

THE

THE LIFE OF S. MARK the Evangelist.

The Evangelist S. Mark.



He having been the Coadjutor of S. Paul & S. Peter severally, at Alexandria planted & govern'd a Church and there by the violence of the Pagan multitude suffered Martyrdom. AD. 64. *Baron & Centur*

S. Mark's Martyrdom.



Heb. ii. 35. Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Of whom the world was not worthy.

His Kindred, and distinction from others of the same Name. Whether one of the Seventy. His Conversion. His attendance upon Peter, and preaching the Gospel in Italy, and at Rome. His planting Christianity at Alexandria, and great success there. An account of the Therapeutæ (mentioned by Philo) and their excellent manners, rules, and way of life. These proved not to have been Christians by several arguments. The original of the mistake whence. S. Mark's preaching in the Parts of Africk. His return to Alexandria, and diligence in his Ministry. The manner of his Martyrdom. The time of it enquired into. The description of his Person. His Gospel, when and where written, and why said to be Peter's. His great impartiality

in his Relations. In what Language written. The Original whether extant at this Day.

1. SAINT Mark, though carrying something of Roman in his Name, probably assumed by him upon some great change, or accident of his Life, or which was not unusual among the Jews, when going into the European Provinces of the Roman Empire, taken up at his going for Italy and Rome, was doubtless born of Jewish Parents, originally descended of the Tribe of * Levi, and the Line of the Priesthood, and (if || Nicephorus say true) Sister's Son to Peter, though by others against all reason confounded with John surnamed Mark the Son of Mary, and Mark Sister's Son to Barnabas. By the Ancients he is generally thought to have been one of the Seventy Disciples, and * Epiphanius expressly tells us, that he was one of those who taking exception at our Lord's discourse of eating his Flesh and drinking his Blood, went back and walked no more with him, but was seasonably reduced and reclaimed by Peter. But no foundation appears either for the one or for the other; nay || Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, who lived near those times, positively affirms that he was no hearer nor follower of our Saviour. He was converted by some of the Apostles, probably by S. Peter, who is said to have been his undertaker at his Baptism (if I understand || Idore * aright) for no other reason I suppose, but because he calls him his Son. Indeed he was his constant attendant in his Travels, supplying the place of an Amanuensis and Interpreter; for though the Apostles were divinely inspired, and among other miraculous powers had the gift of Languages conferred upon them, yet was the interpretation of Tongues a gift more peculiar to some than others. This might probably be Saint Mark's Talent, in expounding Saint Peter's Discourses, whether by word or writing, to those who understood not the Language wherein they were delivered. He accompanied him in his Apostolical progress, preached the Gospel in || Italy, and at Rome, where at the request of the Christians of those Parts he composed and wrote his Gospel.

2. BY Peter he was sent into Egypt to plant Christianity in those Parts, fixing his main residence at Alexandria, and the places thereabouts: where so great (says * Eusebius) was the success of his Ministry, that he converted the Multitudes both of Men and Women, not only to the embracing of the Christian Religion, but to a more than ordinary strict profession of it, inso-much that Philo wrote a Book of their peculiar Rites and way of Life, the only reason why || S. Hierome reckons him among the Writers of the Church. Indeed Philo the Jew wrote a Book καὶ ἐπὶ Σωτηρίᾳ, extant at this day, wherein he speaks of a sort of Persons called Σεβηταῖοι, who in many Parts of the World, but especially in a pleasant place near the Maraeotic Lake in Egypt had formed themselves into Religious Societies, and give a large account of their Rites and Customs, their strict, philosophical, and contemplative course of life. He tells * us of them, that when they first enter upon this way, they renounce all secular interests and employments, and leaving their Estates to their Relations, retire into Groves and Gardens, and Places devoted to solitude and contemplation; that they had their Houses or Colleges, not contiguous, that so being free from noise and tumult, they might the better minister to the designs of a contemplative life; nor yet removed at too great a distance, that they might maintain mutual society, and be conveniently capable of helping and assisting one another. In each of these Houses there was an Oratory, call'd Σεβαστήριον and Μοναστήριον, wherein

* Hieron. pref. in Marc. Tom. 9. p. 87.
|| H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 43. p. 209.
* Hieron. l. 1. p. 185.

* Apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 39. p. 113.

* Petri discipulus, & in baptizatus filius. Iliud. de vit. & ob. SS. c. 84. p. 542.

|| Naz. Orat. 29. p. 438.

* H. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 53.

|| De Script. Eccl. in Philon.

* Phil. lib. de vita contemplat. p. 891, 892. & seq.

wherein they discharged the more secret and solemn Rites of their Religion; divided in the middle with a Partition-wall three or four Cubits high, the one apartment being for the Men, and the other for the Women: Here they publicly met every Seventh day, where being set according to their seniority, and having composed themselves with great decency and reverence, the most aged Person among them, and best skilled in the Dogmata and Principles of their Institution came forth into the midst, gravely and soberly discoursing what might make the deepest impression upon their minds; the rest attending with a profound silence, and only testifying their assent with the motion of their Eyes or Head. Their discourses were usually mystical and allegorical, seeking hidden senses under plain words, and of such an allegorical Philosophy consulted the Books of their Religion, left them by their Ancestours: The Law they compared to an Animal, the Letter of it resembling the Body, while the Soul of it lay in those abstruse and recondite notions, which the external veil and surface of the words concealed from vulgar understandings. He tells us also, that they took very little care of the Body, perfecting their minds by Precepts of Wisdom and Religion; the day they entirely spent in Pious and Divine Meditations, in reading and expounding the Law and the Prophets, and the Holy Volumes of the ancient Founders of their Sect, and in singing Hymns to the honour of their Maker; absolutely temperate and abstemious, neither eating nor drinking till Night, the only time they thought fit to refresh and regard the Body, some of them out of an insatiable desire of growing in knowledge and virtue, fasting many days together. What Diet they had was very plain and simple, sufficient only to provide against hunger and thirst, a little Bread, Salt and Water being their constant bill of fare: their clothes were as mean as their food, designed only as a present security against cold and nakedness. And this not only the case of men, but of pious and devout Women that lived (though separately) among them; that they religiously observed every Seventh Day, and especially the preparatory Week to the great solemnity, which they kept with all expressions of a more severe abstinence and devotion. This and much more he has in that Tract concerning them.

3. THESE excellent Persons Eusebius peremptorily affirms to have been Christians, converted and brought under their admirable Rules and Institutions of Life by S. Mark at his coming hither, accommodating all passages to the Manners and Discipline of Christians: followed herein by * Epiphanius, * Hierome, and others of old, as by † Baronius, and some others of later time: and this so far taken for granted, that * many have hence fetched the rise of Monasteries and religious Orders among Christians. But whoever seriously and impartially considers Philo's account, will plainly find that he intends it of Jews and Professors of the Mosaiick Religion, though whether Essenes, or of some other particular Sect among them, I stand not to determine. That they were not Christians, is evident, besides that Philo gives not the least intimation of it, partly because it is improbable that Philo being a Jew should give so great a character and commendation of Christians; so hateful to the Jews at that time in all places of the World; partly, in that Philo speaks of them as an Institution of some considerable standing, whereas Christians had but lately appeared in the World, and were later come into Egypt; partly, because many parts of Philo's account do no way suit with the state and manners of Christians at that time; as that they withdrew themselves from public converse, and all affairs of civil life, which Christians never did, but when forced by violent Persecutions, for ordinarily, as Justin Martyr and Tertullian tell us, they promiscuously dwelt in Towns and Cities, plowed

* Hieron. XXXIX. p. 97.
|| De Script. in Philon.
† Ad Ann. 64. p. 11.
* Sozom. H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 419.
Cassian. de Instit. Monach. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 122.

seems to intimate that it was written after *Peter's* death: yet all that can be inferred hence will be, what in it self is a matter of no great moment and importance, that the Ancients were not agreed in assigning the exact time when the several Gospels were published to the World: If we will give way to the conjectures of a || Learned man, the difficulty will soon cease: he tells us, that the *μετὰ τὴν ἐξόδον* in *Irenæus*, should be rendered, not after their death, but after their departure, viz. from *Rome*. And though this be not the common usage of the word, yet might it have been admitted, had there been any authority of the Ancients to prove that *S. Peter* was twice at *Rome*. Therefore not relying upon this, he flies to an ancient Copy, where the words are read *μετὰ τὴν ἐξόδον* after the publication of *S. Matthew's* Gospel, whereof *Irenæus* had spoken in the words before. But he should have done well to have named his ancient Copy, no such having been hitherto mentioned by any other writer. And therefore it leaves a suspicion that he had no better authority, than the boldness of *Christopherson*, who indeed thrusts such a conjecture into the margin of his Book, and accordingly so renders it in his translation, with what design, we observed before. But to return. It was frequently styled *S. Peter's Gospel*, not so much because dictated by him to *S. Mark*, as because he principally composed it out of that account which *S. Peter* usually delivered in his Discourses to the People. Which probably is the reason of what * *Chrysostome* observes, that in his style and manner of expression he delights to imitate *S. Peter*, representing much in a few words. Though he commonly reduces the story of our Saviour's Acts into a narrower compass than *S. Matthew*, yet want there not passages, which he relates more largely than he. The last Chapter of his Gospel, at least part of it, was (as || *Hierome* informs us) wanting in all ancient *Greek* Copies, rejected upon pretence of some disagreement with the other Gospels, though, as he there shews, they are fairly consistent with each other. His great impartiality in his Relations appears from hence, that he is

|| Grot. Annot.
in precem. Marc.

Vid. Pap. lib.
super. citat.

* Homil. 3. in
Matth. p. 30.

|| Ad Hebr.
Quæst. 3. p. 143.
T. 3.

Ταῦτα οὐδὲ τῶ διδασκάλῳ μαρτῶν· ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῷ Πέτρῳ. ὅταν μάλιστα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκπλαγείῃ, ἐπὶ ἡ μόνον ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ τῆ ἐκείνου, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ παρὰ τὸν αὐτὸν, αὐτὸς τὸν τῷ μαρτῶν. Chrys. Homil. 66. in Matth. p. 719.

so far from concealing the shameful lapse and denial of *Peter*, his dear Tutor and Master, that he sets it down with some particular circumstances and aggravations, which the other Evangelists take no notice of. Some dispute has been made in what Language it was written, whether in *Greek* or *Latin*; That which seems to give most countenance to the *Latin* Original, is the note that we find at the end of the *Syriack* Version of this Gospel, where it is said that *Mark* preached and declared his Holy Gospel at *Rome* *ܡܪܩܝܘܨܐ*; in the *Roman*, or the *Latin*-

Tongue. An evidence that with me would almost carry the force of a demonstration, were I assured that this note is of equal value and authority with that Ancient Version, generally supposed to come very few Centuries short of the *Apostolick* Age. But we know how usual it is for such additions to be made by some later hand. And what credit is to be given to the *subscriptions* at the end of *S. Paul's* Epistles, we have shewed elsewhere. Besides, that it is not here said that he wrote, but that he Preached his Gospel at *Rome* in that Language. The Advocates of the *Romish* Church plead, that it's very congruous and suitable, that it should at first be consigned to Writing in that Language, being principally designed for the use of the Christians at *Rome*. An objection that will easily vanish, when we consider, that as the Convert *Jews* there understood very little *Latin*, so there were very few *Romans* that understood not *Greek*, it being (as appears from the Writers of that Age) the *gentile* and fashionable Language of those times. Nor can any good

good reason be assigned, why it should be more inconvenient for *S. Mark* to write his Gospel in *Greek* for the use of the *Romans*, than that *S. Paul* should in the same Language write his Epistle to that Church. The Original *Greek* Copy, written with *S. Mark's* own hand, is said to be extant at *Venice* at this Day. Written (they tell us) by him at *Aquileia*, and thence after many Hundreds of Years translated to *Venice*, where it is still preserved, though the Letters so worn out with length of time, that they are not capable of being read. A story which as I cannot absolutely disprove, so I am not very forward to believe, and that for more reasons than I think worth while to insist on in this place.

Corn à Lap.
prefat. in
Marc. p. 562.

The End of S. Mark's Life.

Ii

THE

THE LIFE OF S. LUKE the Evangelist.

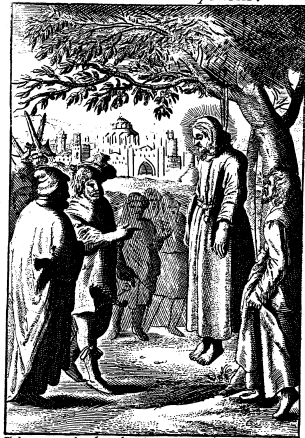
S. LUKE.



2. COR. 8. 8. 10.

The Brother, whose praise is in \S Gospel through out all \S Churches: And not that onely, but who was also chosen of \S Churches to travell with us.

St. Luke his Martyrdom.



Col. 4. 14. Luke the beloved Physician. The brother whose Praise is in the Gospel.
2 Cor. 4. 11. We are delivered unto death for Jesus sake. Bearing in the body the stamp of the Lord Jesus.

Antioch S. Luke's birth-place. The same and dignity of it. His learned and liberal education. His study of Physick. His skill in Painting. S. Luke none of the Seventy. Converted, where, and by whom. His constant attendance upon S. Paul. In what Parts he principally exercised his Ministry. The place, and manner of his Death. The translation of his Body to Constantinople. His Writings. Theophilus, who. His Gospel, where written, and upon what occasion. How fitted for it. The Acts of the Apostles written at Rome, and when. Why principally containing the Acts of S. Paul. This Book why publicly read just after Easter in the Primitive Church. S. Luke's polite and exact style and way of writing above the rest.

I i 2

I. SAINT

1. **S**AINTE Luke was born at *Antioch*, the *Metropolis* of *Syria*, a City celebrated for its extraordinary blessings and eminences, the pleasantness of its situation, the fertility of its soil, the riches of its Traffick, the wisdom of its Senate, the learning of its Professours, the civility and politeness of its Inhabitants, by the Pope of some of the

liteness of its Inhabitants, by the Pens of some of the
greatest * Orators of their times : And yet above
all these renowned for this one peculiar honour, that
here it was that *the Disciples were first called Christians*.
It was an University, replenish'd with Schools of Learning,
wherein were Professours of all Arts and Sciences.
So that being born in the very lap of the Muses,
he could not well misf of an ingenuous and liberal

education, his natural parts meeting with the advantages of great improvements. Nay, we are told, that he studied not only at *Aniarch*, but in all the Schools both of *Greece* and *Egypt*, whereby he became accomplished in all parts of Learning and humane Sciences. Being thus furnished out with skill in all the preparatory Institutions of Philosophy, he more particularly applied himself to the study of *Physick*, for which the *Grecian* Academies were most famous; though they that hence infer the quality of his Birth and Fortunes, forget to consider, that this noble Art was in those times generally managed by persons of no better rank than servants: Upon which account a Learned Man conceives *S. Luke*, though a *Syrian* by birth, to have been a servant at *Rome*, where he sometimes practised Physick, and whence being manumitted, he returned into his own Country, and probably continued his profession all his life, it being so fairly consistent with, and in many cases so subservient to the Ministry of the Gospel, and the care of Souls. Besides his abilities in Physick, he is said to have been very skillful in **Painting*, and there are no less than three or four several pieces still in being, pretended to have been drawn with his own hand; a Tradition which || *Greiser* the *Jesuit* sets himself with a great deal of pains, and to very little purpose to defend, though his Authorities, either in respect of credit or antiquity, deserve very little esteem and value. Of more authority with me would be an ancient *Inscription* found in a Vault near the Church of *S. Mary in via lata* at *Rome*, suppoed to have been the place where *S. Paul* dwelt, wherein mention is made of a Picture of the *B. Virgin*, UNÆXVII. AB LUCA DEPICTIS, being one of the seven painted by S. Luke.

2. H. E. was a *Zeifish* Synagoge, *Antioch* abounding with men of that Nation, who had here their Synagogues and Schools of Education, so that we need not with * *Theophylact* send him to *Jerusalem* to be instructed in the study of the Law. As for that opinion of || *Epiphanius* and others, that he was one of the Seventy Disciples, one of those that deserted our Lord for the unwelcome discourse he made to them, but recalled afterwards by *S. Paul*, I behold it as a story of the same coin and stamp with that of *S. Mark's* leaving *Christ* upon the same occasion, and being reduced by *Peter*, and that the one was made to answer the other; as upon no better ground it is * said that he was one of those two Disciples that were going to *Emmaus*. For besides the silence of Scripture in the case, he himself plainly confesses, that he was not from the beginning an *Eye-witness* and minister of the Word. Most probable it is, that he was converted by *S. Paul* during his abode at *Antioch*, whereas the Apostles of catchers of Fish were become *fishers* of men, so he of a Physician of the Body became a Physician of the Soul. This, *Nicephorus* will have to have been done at *Thebes*, the chief City of *Boetia*, about forty miles from *Athens*, though

it appears not to me by any credible Authour that ever *S. Paul* was there. He became ever after his inseparable companion and fellow-labourer in the Ministry of the Gospel, especially after his going into *Macedonia*, from which time in recording the History of *S. Paul's* travels, he always speaks of himself in his own Person. He followed him in all his dangers, was with him at his several arraignments at *Jerusalem*, accompanied him in his desperate Voyage to *Rome*, where he still attended on him to serve his necessities, and supply those ministerial Offices, which the *Apoll's* confinement would not suffer him to undergo, and especially in carrying messages to those Churches where he had planted Christianity. This infinitely endeared him to *S. Paul*, who own'd him for his fellow-labourer, called him the beloved Physician, and the Brother whose praise is in the Gospel, throughout all the Churches, which the Ancients, and especially * *Ignatius*, apply to our Evangelist.

3. PROBABLE it is that he did not wholly leave *S. Paul* till he had finished his course, and crowned all with Martyrdom, though there are that tell || us, that he left *S. Paul* at *Rome*, and returned back into the *East*, travelled into *Egypt* and the parts of *Libya*, Preached the Gospel, wrought Miracles, converted Multitudes, constituted Guides and Ministers of Religion; yea, that he himself took upon him the Episcopal charge of the City of *Thebes*. *Epiphantus* gives us this account, that he first preached in *Dalmatia*, and *Galatia* (he reads it οὐ τῇ Γαλιλῃ, in *Gaul*, or *France*, and peremptorily affirms, that they are all mistaken that say that it was *Galatia* where *Crescens* preached, though some think that himself in the mean while is under the most confident mistake) then in *Italy* and *Macedonia*, where he spared no pains, declined no dangers that he might faithfully discharge the trust committed to him. The Ancients are not very well agreed, either about the time or manner of his death, some affirming him to die in *Egypt*, others in *Greece*, the *Roman Martyrologie* in *Bithynia*, || *Dorotheus* at *Ephefus*; some make him die a natural, others a violent death. Indeed neither *Eusebius* nor *S. Hierome*, take any notice of it. But * *Nazianzen*, || *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, and several other expressly assert his Martyrdom, whereof * *Nicephorus* gives this particular account, that coming into *Greece* he successfully preached, and baptized many Converts into the Christian Faith, till a Party of Infidels making head against him, drew him to execution, and in want of a *Cross* whereon to dispatch him presently, hanged him upon an Olive-tree, in the eightieth (the eighty-fourth says *S. Hierome*) year of his Age. * *Kirdeus*, in the eighth

ays *1. S. Hierome's* year of his Age, *2. Korfenius* from an Ancient Arabic Writer, makes him to have suffered Martyrdom at Rome, which he thinks might probably be after *S. Paul's* first imprisonment there, and departure thence, when *S. Luke* being left behind as his Deputy to supply his place, was shortly after put to death, the reason (says he) why he no longer continued his History of the Apostles *Acts*, which surely he would have done, had he lived any considerable time after *S. Paul's* departure. His Body afterwards, by the command of *Constantine*, or his Son *Constantius*, was solemnly removed to *Constantinople*, and buried in the great Church built to the memory of the Apostles.

4. T W O Books he wrote for the use of the Church, his *Gospel*, and the History of the *Apostles Acts*, both dedicated to *Theophilus*, which many of the * Ancients suppose to be but a feigned name, denoting no more than a lover of God, a title common to every Christian. While others with better reason conclude it the proper name of a particular person, especially since the style of *most excellent* is attributed to him, the usual title and form of address in those times to Princes and Great Men. *Theophylact* styles him *συμμελικος ἀρχιερεως* *αὐτοκρατορος*, a man of Conular dignity, and probably a Prince; the

Acts 16. 10.

* *Epist. ad Ephes.* p. 44.

|| Metaphr. κβ
supr. n. 11.

Ubi supra.

* *Ad diem xviii*
Octob. p. 645.

|| De vit. & mort.
App. in Bibl. Pp

Tom. 3. p. 148.
* Orat. I. in Ju
lian. 1. 26.

lian. p. 76.
|| *Epist.* 12. *ad*
Sever. de Basil

* *Lib. 2, c. 43.*

p. 210.

|| De Script. Eccl.
in Luca.
* Via. Quest. F.

* Orig. *Homil.* v.
in *Luc. fol. 94.*

Ambros. in
Luc. i. p. 9. T. 5.
and English.

*vid. Epiph. Hæ-
res. LI. p. 186.
|| Argum. in Luc.*

|| *Argum. in Luc.*
P. 293.

* *Author*

* *Lik. 10. prope fin. fol. 120.* * *Author* of the *Recognitions* makes him a *Nobleman* of *Antioch*, converted by *Peter*, and who upon his conversion gave his House to the Church for the place of their publick and solemn Meetings. We may probably suppose him to have been some Magistrate, whom S. *Luke* had converted and baptized, to whom he now dedicated these Books, not only as a testimony of honourable respect, but as a means of giving him farther certainty and assurance of those things, wherein he had been instructed by him. For his *Gospel*,

|| *Proem. in Matth. Tom. 9.*

|| S. *Hierome* supposes it to have been written in *Achaia* during his travels with S. *Paul* in those Parts, whose help he is generally said to have made use of in the composing of it, and that this the Apostle primarily intends when he so often speaks of his *Gospel*. But whatever assistance S. *Paul* might contribute towards it, we are sure the Evangelist himself tells us, that he derived his intelligence in these matters from those, who from the beginning had been eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word. Nor does it in the least detract from the authority of his relations, that he himself was not present at the doing of them; for if we consider who they were from whom he derived his accounts of things, *Habuit utique authenticam paraturam*, as * *Tertullian* speaks, he had a flock both of credit and intelligence sufficiently authentick to proceed upon, delivering nothing in his whole History but what he had immediately received from persons present at, and concerned in the things which he has left upon record. The occasion of his writing it, is thought to have been partly to prevent those false and fabulous relations which even then began to be obtruded upon the World, partly, to supply what seemed wanting in those two Evangelists that wrote before him, and the additions or larger explications of things are particularly enumerated by || *Ireneus*. He mainly insists upon what relates to *Christ's* Priestly-office, and though recording other parts of the Evangelical story, yet it ever is with a peculiar respect to his Priesthood. Upon which account the Ancients in accommodating the four Symbolical representations in the Prophets Vision to the four Evangelists, assigned the *Oxe* or *Calf* to S. *Luke*.

|| *Adv. Hæres. lib. 3. c. 14. p. 272.*

* *Serm. 73. Cur Alii. Ap. legantur in Pentec. Tom. 5.*

5. HIS History of the Apostolick *Acts* was written no doubt at *Rome*, at the end of S. *Paul's* two Years imprisonment there, with which he concludes his story; it contains the Actions, and sometimes the Sufferings of some principal Apostles, especially S. *Paul*; for, besides that his activity in the cause of *Christ* made him bear a greater part both in doing and suffering, S. *Luke* was his constant attendant, an eye-witness of the whole carriage of his life, and privy to his most intimate transactions, and therefore capable of giving a more full and satisfactory account and relation of them; seeing no evidence or testimony in matters of fact can be more rational and convictive, than his who reports nothing but what he has heard and seen. Among other things he gives us a particular account of those great Miracles which the Apostles did for the confirmation of their doctrine. And this (as * *Chrysostome* informs us) was the reason why in the Primitive times the Book of the *Acts*, though containing those Actions of the Apostles that were done after *Pentecost*, were yet usually read in the Church before it, in the space between that and *Easter*, whenas at all other times those parts of the Gospel were read which were proper to the season, it was (says he) because the Apostles miracles being the grand confirmation of the truth of *Christ's* Resurrection, and those Miracles recorded in that Book, it was therefore thought most proper to be read next to the Feast of the Resurrection. In both these Books his way and manner of writing is exact and accurate, his style polite and elegant, sublime and lofty, and yet clear and perspicuous, flowing with an ease and natural grace and sweetness, admirably accommodate to an historical design, all along expressing

pressing himself in a vein of purer Greek, than is to be found in the other Writers of the Holy Story. Indeed being born and bred at *Antioch* (than which no place more famous for Oratory and Eloquence) he could not but carry away a great share of the native genius of that place, though his style is sometimes alloyed with a taint of the *Syriack* and *Hebrew* dialect. It was observed of old (as * *S. Hierome* tells us) that his skill was greater in Greek than *Hebrew*, that therefore he always makes use of the *Septuagint* Translation and refuses sometimes to render words, when the propriety of the Greek Tongue will not bear it. In short, as an *Historian*, he was faithful in his Relations, elegant in his Writings; as a *Minister*, careful and diligent for the good of Souls; as a *Christian*, devout and pious: and who crowned all the rest with the laying down his life for the testimony of that Gospel, which he had both preached and published to the World.

* *Comm. in c. 6. Elai. p. 30. T. 5. Ibid. in c. 28. p. 118. Epist. ad Damas. p. 124. T. 3.*

The End of S. Luke's Life.

D T P.

DYPTYCHA APOSTOLICA:

OR,

A Brief Enumeration and Account of the APOSTLES and their SUCCESSOURS, FOR THE

First Three Hundred Years in the Five Great
Churches, said to have been Founded by them, thence

called by the Ancients,

APOSTOLICAL CHURCHES,

VIZ.

*Antioch, Rome, Jerusalem, Byzantium or Constantinople,
and Alexandria.*

ANTIOCH.

THIS I place first, partly because 'tis generally acknowledged even by the *Romish* Writers, that a Church was founded here by *S. Peter* some considerable time before that at *Rome*; partly because here it was that the Venerable name of Christians did first commence. In which respect the *11* Fathers in the Council at *Constantinople* under *Nestarius*, in their *Synodicon* to them at *Rome*, style the Church of *Antioch*, *ἡ παλαιὰ καὶ ἁγία ἐκκλησία, ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἀρχαία, ἡ ἀποστολική, ἡ ἁγία, ἡ ἀντιόχεια, ἡ ἁγία, ἡ ἀντιόχεια, ἡ ἁγία, ἡ ἀντιόχεια*, *The most Ancient, and truly Apostolical*; and * *S. Chrysostome*, *The head of the whole World*. The Succession of its Bishops till the time of *Constantine* (which shall be the Boundary of this Catalogue) was as followeth.

I. *S. Peter the Apostle*; who governed this Church at least 7 years. *Nicephorus of Constantinople* says Eleven.

II. *Euodius*, who sat 23 Years. In his time the Disciples were first called Christians at *Antioch*.

III. *Ignatius*. After near 40 Years Presidency over this Church he was carried out of *Syria* to *Rome*, and there thrown to wild Beasts in the Theatre, *Ann. Chr. 110. Trojan. 11.*

IV. *Heron*, he was Bishop 20 Years: To him succeeded

V. *Cornelius*, who kept the place 13 Years, dying *Ann. Chr. 142.*

VI. *Eros*, 26, or as *Eusebius*, 24 years.

VII. *Theophilus*, 13. a Man of great Parts and Learning, many of his Works were extant in *Eusebius* his time, and some of them we still have at this day. *Ap. Theod. H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 151.*

VIII. *Maximinus*, 13. he dying, the next that was chosen was

IX. *Serapio*, 25. many of his Works are mentioned by *Eusebius* and *S. Hierome*. ** Hamil. 2. ad Pop. Ant. Tom. 1. p. 40.*

To him succeeded

X. *Aleclepiades*, a Man of great worth and eminency, and invincible constancy in the time of persecution; he continued in this See 9 years.

XI. *Philetus*, 8.

XII. *Zebinus*, or *Zebennus*, he sat 6 years.

XIII. *Babylas*, 13. after many conflicts and sufferings for the Faith, he

K k

he received the crown of Martyrdom under *Decius*, and commanded his Chains to be buried with him.

XIV. *Fabius*, or as the Patriarch *Nicephorus* calls him, *Flavius*, possessed the Chair 9 years. He was a little inclining towards *Novatianism*.

XV. *Demetrianus*, he fate Bishop, says *Nicephorus* 4, says *Eusebius*, 8 years.

XVI. *Paulus Samosatensis* fate in the chair 8 years, when for his Unepiscopal manners and practices, his unfound *Dogmata* and principles, and especially his mean and unworthy opinions concerning our Saviour, he was condemned and depofed by a *Synod* at *Antioch*, where *Synodical* determination is at large extant in *Eusebius*.

XVII. *Dionysius* succeeded in the place of the depofed. He was fon to *Demetrian*, *Paulus* his predeceffor in that See; confituted and ordained to the place by the Fathers of that *Synod*, who farther give him this honourable character, that he was a Man indue with all Epifcopal vertues and ornaments. *Eusebius* makes him to have fitten 6, *Nicephorus* but 2 years.

XVIII. *Timæus*, he fate in the Chair 10 years.

XIX. *Cyrillus*, who prefided over that Church in the account of *Nicephorus* 15, of *Eusebius* 24 years.

XX. *Tyrannus*, he fate 13 years; in his time began the tenth Persecution under *Diocletian*, which rag'd with great feverity.

XXI. *Vitalis*, 6.

XXII. *Philogonius*, 5, fucceeded by

XXIII. *Paulinus*, or as *Nicephorus* calls him, *Paulus*, who after five years was depofed and driven out by the prevalency of the *Arian* faction.

XXIV. *Eusebius*, formerly Bishop of *Beræa*, a learned Man, and of great note and eminency in the Council of *Nice*, the first general Council, fummoned by the Great *Constan-*

tine, after he had reflored peace and prosperity to the Church.

R O M E.

THE foundation of this Church is with juft probabilities of reason by many of the Fathers equally attributed to *Peter* and *Paul*, the one as *Apostle* of the *Circumcifion* preaching to the *Jews*, while the other probably as the *Apostle* of the *Uncircumcifion* preached to the *Gentiles*. Its Bifhops fucceeded in this order.

I. *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, who both fuffered Martyrdom under *Nero*.

II. *Linus*, the fon of *Herculanus*, a *Tufcan*; he is mentioned by *S. Paul*, he fate between 11 and 12 years.

III. *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, or *Anencletus*, fupposed by many to be the fame person, (though others who reckon *Anacletus* a *Greek*, born at *Athens*, make them diftinct, whom yet we have left out, not being mentioned by *Eusebius*) a *Roman*, the fon of *Emilianus*, fate 9, though others fay but 2 years.

IV. *Clemens*, a *Roman*, born in Mount *Cælius*, the fon of *Fauftinus*, near a kin, fay fome, to the Emperour: He was condemned to dig in the Marble-Quarries near the *Euxine* Sea, and by the command of *Trajan* with an Anchor about his Neck thrown into the Sea. He was Bishop of *Rome* 9 years, and 4 months.

V. *Euaeristus*, by birth a *Greek*, but his Father a *Jew* of *Bethlehem*. He is faid to have been crowned with Martyrdom the laft year of *Trajan*, in the ninth of his Bifhoprick, or as others, the thirteenth.

VI. *Alexander*, a *Roman*, though young in years, was grave in his manners and converfation. He fate 10 years and 7 months, and died a Martyr.

VII. *Ayftus*, or *Sixtus*, a *Roman*, he was Martyred in the tenth year of his Bifhoprick, and buried in the *Vatican*.

VIII. *Tele-*

VIII. *Telephorus*, a *Greek*, fucceeded; *Justin* the Martyr flourished in his time. He died a Martyr, having fate 11. Years, and 3. months; 12. years, 8. months fay others: and lies buried near *S. Peter* in the *Vatican*.

IX. *Euginius*, the fon of an *Arbenian* Philofopher was advanced to the Chair under *Antoninus Pius*: He fate 4. years; *Eusebius* fays 8.

X. *Pius*, an *Italian*, born at *Aquileia*, he died having been Bishop 11. years, and 4. months; according to *Eusebius*, 15. years.

XI. *Anicetus*, born in *Syria*: He is faid after 9, or as others, 11. years to have fuffered Martyrdom, and was buried in the *Via Appia* in the *Cemetery of Calliftus*. In his time *Polycarp* came to *Rome*.

XII. *Soter*, or as *Nicephorus* calls him, *Soterichus*, was a *Campanian*, the fon of *Concordius*. There was an intercourse of Letters between him and *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*. He died after he had fate 9 years, or as *Eusebius* reckons, 7.

XIII. *Eleutherius*, born at *Nicopolis* in *Greece*. To him *Lucius* King of *Britain* sent a Letter and an Embassy. He fate 15 years, died *Ann. Chr.* 186. and lies buried in the *Vatican*.

XIV. *Vitlor*, an *African*, the fon of *Felix*, a man of a furious and intemperate fpirit, as appeared in his paffionate proceedings in the controverfie about the obfervation of *Eafter*. He was Bishop 10 years. *Onuphrius* affigns him 12 years, and one month.

XV. *Zephyrinus*, a *Roman*, fucceeded, and poffeffed the chair 8, but as others, 18 years; 20 fays *Onuphrius*. A pious and learned Man, but a little warping towards the *Errors of Montanus*.

XVI. *Calliftus*, or *Calixtus*, the fon of *Domitius*, a *Roman*; a prudent and modeft man. He fuffered much in the Persecution under *Alexander Severus*, under whom he became

a Martyr, being thrown into a Well by the procurement of *Ulpian* the great Lawyer, but fevere enemy of *Chriftians*. He fate 6 years, or 5 as others, and one month; and though he made a *Cemetery*, called after his own name, yet was he buried in that of *Calepodius* in the *Appian* way.

XVII. *Urbanus*, the fon of *Pontianus*, a *Roman*, after 4, or as fome, 6 years, he fuffered Martyrdom for the Faith: *Eusebius* has 5, *S. Hierome* in his tranflation 9. He was buried in *Pretextatus* his *Cemetery* in the *Appian* way.

XVIII. *Pontianus*, the fon of *Calpurnius*, a *Roman*; for his bold reproving the *Roman* Idolatry he was banished into the Ifland *Sardinia*, where he died; he was Bishop about 3 or 4, or as *Eusebius*, 5 years.

XIX. *Anteros*, a *Greek*, the fon of *Romulus*. He died by that he had kept his place one month, though others without reason make him to have lived in it many years, and was buried in the *Cemetery of Calliftus*.

XX. *Fabianus*, a *Roman*, he was unexpectedly chofen Bishop, while feveral others being in competition, a *Pigeon* fuddenly defcended, and fate upon his head, the great emblem of the Holy Spirit. He died a Martyr after 14 years; buried in the fame place with his predeceffor.

XXI. *Cornelius*, a *Roman*, he oppofed and condemned *Novatian*: frequent Letters paffed between him and *Cyprian*. After fomewhat more than two years he was firft cruelly whipp'd, and then beheaded: buried in a Vault within the Grange of *Lucina*, near the *Appian* way.

XXII. *Lucius*, a *Roman*, fate 2, or as others, 3 years. He fuffered martyrdom by the command of *Valerian*, and was buried in *Calliftus* his *Cemetery*.

XXIII. *Stephanus*, a *Roman*, the fon of *Julius*: Great contentts were between him and *Cyprian* about baptizing thofe who had been bap-

- tized by Hereticks. He was beheaded after he had fate about 2 or 3 years, though others say 7; and buried with his predecessour.
- XXIX. *Xystus*, a Greek, formerly a Philosopher of *Athens*. After 1, or as others compute, 2 years, and 10 months, he suffered Martyrdom, *Eusebius* reckons it 8 years.
- XXXV. *Dionysius*, of a Monk made Bishop, *ἀγιός τε καὶ Σαυμάκος* (B.), in the judgment of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, a truly learned and admirable person. The time of his Presidency is uncertainly assign'd, 6, 9, 10, 11. *Eusebius* extends it to 12 years.
- XXXVI. *Felix*, a Roman: In his time arose the Manichean Heresie. He suffered about the fourth or fifth year of his Episcopacy, and lies buried in the *Aurelian* way, in a Cemetery of his own, two miles from *Rome*.
- XXXVII. *Eutychianus*, a *Tuscan*, a man exceedingly carefull of the burial of martyrs, after one years space was himself crowned with martyrdom, *Eusebius* allows him but 8 months: *Onuphrius* 8 years, and 6 months.
- XXXVIII. *Caius*, or as *Eusebius* calls him, *Gaius*, a *Dalmatian*, kinsman to the Emperour *Dioclesian*, and in the Persecution under him became a martyr. He fate 11 years, some say longer. *Eusebius*, 15 years: He was beheaded and buried in *Callistus* his Cemetery.
- XXXIX. *Marcellinus*, a Roman: Through fear of torment he did sacrifice to the Gods; but recovering himself, died a martyr, after he had fate 8, or 9 years. He was beheaded, and buried in the Cemetery of *Priscilla* in the *Salarian* way. To him succeeded
- XXX. *Marcellus*, a Roman; he was condemned by *Maxentius* the Tyrant to keep Beasts in a Stable, which yet he performed with his prayers and exercises of devotion. He died after five Years, and six months, and was buried in the Cemetery of *Priscilla*.

- XXXI. *Eusebius*, a Greek, the son of a Physician. He suffered much under the Tyranny of *Maxentius*. He fate 6 years say some, 4 say others, though *Eusebius* allows him but 7 months, *Onuphrius* 1 year, and 7 months; he was buried in the *Apian* way near *Callistus* his Cemetery.
- XXXII. *Miltiades*, an African. He might be a confessor under *Maxentius*, but could not be a martyr under *Maximinus*, as some report him. He fate 3 or 4, though others assign him but 2 years: and was buried in the Cemetery of *Callistus*.
- XXXIII. *Silvester*, a Roman. He was elected into the place. *Ann. Chr.* CCCXIV. fetch'd from the mountain *Soracte*, whither he had fled for fear of Persecution. He was highly in favour with *Constantine the Great*. He fate 23, *Nicephorus* says 28 years.

JERUSALEM.

THE Church of *Jerusalem* may in some sense be said to have been founded by our Lord himself, as it was for some time cultivated and improved by the Ministry of the whole College of Apostles. The Bishops of it were as followeth.

- I. *S. James the Less*, the Brother of our Lord, by him, say some, immediately constituted Bishop, but as others more probably by the Apostles: He was thrown off the Temple, and knock'd on the head with a *Fullers* Club.
- II. *Symeon*, the son of *Cleopas*, brother to *Joseph*, our Lord's reputed Father. He fate in this Chair 23 years, and suffered martyrdom in the reign of *Trajan*, in the one hundred and twentieth year of his Age.
- III. *Iustus* succeeded in his room, and fate 6 years.
- IV. *Zacharias*, or as *Nicephorus* the Patriarch

- Patriarch calls him, *Zacharias*, 4. V. *Tobias*; to him after 4 years succeeded
- VI. *Benjamin*: who fate 2 years.
- VII. *John*: who continued the same space.
- VIII. *Matthias*, or *Matthæus*, 2 years.
- IX. *Philippus*, 1 year: next came
- X. *Seneca*, who fate 4 years.
- XI. *Iustus*, 4.
- XII. *Levi*, or *Lebes*, 2.
- XIII. *Ephrem*, or *Ephres*, or as *Epiphanius* styles him, *Vabres*, 2.
- XIV. *Joseph*, 2.
- XV. *Judas*, 2. Most of these Bishops, we may observe to have fate but a short time, following one another with a very quick succession. Which doubtless was in a great measure owing to the turbulent and unquiet humour of the Jewish Nation, frequently rebelling against the Roman powers, whereby they provoked them to fall heavy upon them, and cut off all that came in their way, making no distinction between Jews and Christians: as indeed they were all Jews, though differing in the Rites of their Religion. For hitherto the Bishops of *Jerusalem* had successively been of the Circumcision, the Church there having been intirely made up of Jewish Converts. But *Jerusalem* being now utterly laid waste, and the Jews dispersed into all other Countries, the Gentiles were admitted not onely into the body of that Church, but even into the Episcopal Chair. The first whereof was
- XVI. *Marcus*, who fate 8 years.
- XVII. *Callianus*, 8.
- XVIII. *Publius*, 5.
- XIX. *Maximus*, 4.
- XX. *Julianus*, 2.
- XXI. *Caius*, 3.
- XXII. *Symmachus*, 2.
- XXIII. *Caius*, 3.
- XXIV. *Julianus*, 4.
- XXV. *Elias*, 2. I find not this Bishop mentioned by *Eusebius*; but he is recorded by *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople*.

- XXVI. *Capito*, 4.
- XXVII. *Maximus*, 5.
- XXVIII. *Antoninus*, 4.
- XXIX. *Valens*, 3.
- XXX. *Dulichianus*, 2.
- XXXI. *Narcissus*, 4. He was a man of eminent piety, famous for the great miracles which he wrought: but not being able to bear the afflictions which some unjustly cast upon him (though God signally and miraculously vindicated his innocency) he left his Church, and retired into deserts and solitudes. In his absence was chosen
- XXXII. *Dius*, who fate 8 years. After him
- XXXIII. *Germanus*, 4.
- XXXIV. *Gordius*, 5. In his time *Narcissus*, as one from the dead, returned from his solitudes, and was importuned by the People again to take the government of the Church upon him; being highly revered by them, both for his strict and philosophical course of life, and the signal vengeance which God took of his Accusers. And in this second administration he continued 10 years, suffering martyrdom when he was near 120 years old. To relieve the infirmities of his great Age, they took in to be his Colleague
- XXXV. *Alexander*, formerly Bishop in *Cappadocia*, who at that time had out of devotion taken a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*; the choice being extraordinarily designed by a particular revelation from Heaven. He was an eminent Confessor, and after having fate 15 years, died in Prison under the Decian Persecution. By him *Origen* was ordained Presbyter. He was a great Patron of Learning as well as Religion, a studious preserver of the Records of the Church. He erected a Library at *Jerusalem*, which he especially furnished with the Writings and Epistles of Ecclesiastical Persons. And out of this Treasury it was that *Eusebius* borrowed a great part

- part of his materials for the composing of his History.
- XXXVI. *Mazabanes*, 9 years.
- XXXVII. *Hymenæus*, 23.
- XXXVIII. *Zabdas*, 10.
- XXXIX. *Hermion*, 9. He was, as *Eusebius* tells us, the last Bishop of this See before that fatal Persecution that rag'd even in his time.
- XL. *Macarius*, ordain'd *Ann. Christ.* CCCV. He was present in the great *Nicene Council*. He fate, says *Nicephorus of Constantinople*, 20 years, but *S. Hierome* allows him a much longer time.

BYZANTIUM, afterwards called CONSTANTINOPLE.

THAT this Church was first founded by *S. Andrew*, we have shewed in his Life. The succession of its Bishops was as followeth.

- I. *S. Andrew the Apostle*. He was crucified at *Patræ* in *Achaia*.
- II. *Stachys*, whom *S. Paul* calls, his beloved *Stachys*, ordained Bishop by *S. Andrew*; he fate 16 years.
- III. *Onesimus*, 14.
- IV. *Polycarpus*, 17.
- V. *Plutarchus*, 16.
- VI. *Sedecio*, 9.
- VII. *Diogenes*, 15. Of the last three no mention is made in *Nicephorus of Constantinople*, but they are delivered by *Nicephorus Callistus*, lib. 8. c. 6. p. 540.
- VIII. *Eleutherius*, 7.
- IX. *Felix*, 5.
- X. *Polycarpus*, 17.
- XI. *Athenodorus*, 4. He erected a Church called *Elea*, afterwards much beautified and enlarged by *Constantine the Great*.
- XII. *Euzoios*, 16. Though *Nicephorus Callistus* allow but 6.
- XIII. *Laurentius*, 11 years and five months.

- XIV. *Alypius*, 13.
- XV. *Pertinax*, a man of *Consular* dignity, he built another Church near the Seafide, which he called, *Peace*. He fate 19 years, which *Nicephorus Callistus* reduces to 9.
- XVI. *Olympianus*, 11.
- XVII. *Marcus*, 13.
- XVIII. *Cyriacus*, or *Cyrellianus*, 16.
- XIX. *Constantinus*, 7. In the first year of his Bishoprick he built a Church in the North part of the City, which he dedicated to the honour of *Euphemia* the Martyr, who had suffered in that Place. In this Oratory he spent the remainder of his life, quitting his Episcopal Chair to
- XX. *Titus*, who fate 35 years and six months, though *Nicephorus Callistus* makes it 37 years. After him came
- XXI. *Domitius*, Brother (as they tell us) to the Emperour *Probus*, he was Bishop 21 years, 6 months.
- XXII. *Probus* succeeded his Father *Domitius*, and fate 12 years. As after him
- XXIII. *Metrophanes* his brother, who governed that Church 10 years. And in his time it was that *Constantine* translated the Imperial Court hither, enlarged and adorned it, called it after his own name, and made it the seat of the Empire.
- XXIV. *Alexander* succeeded, a Man of great piety and integrity, zealous and constant in maintaining the truth against the blasphemies of *Arius*. He fate 23 years.

ALEXANDRIA.

THE foundations of this Church were laid, and a great part of its superstructure rais'd by *S. Mark*, who though not strictly and properly an *Apostle*, yet being an *Apostle* at large, and immediately commissioned by *S. Peter*; it justly obtained the

the honour of an *Apostolical* Church. Its Bishops and Governours are thus recorded.

- I. *S. Mark the Evangelist*, of whose Travels and Martyrdom we have spoken in his Life. *Nicephorus of Constantinople* makes him to sit two years.
- II. *Anianus*, character'd by *Eusebius*, ἀνὴρ θεοφιλες, καὶ τὸ πᾶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαπῶμενος, a man beloved of God, and admirable in all things. He ruled in that Throne 22 years.
- III. *Avilius*, 12, or as *Eusebius*, 13.
- IV. *Cerdo*, succeeded about the first year of *Trajan*; he fate 10 years, according to *Eusebius*, 11.
- V. *Primus*, 12.
- VI. *Justus*, or *Iustinus*, 10.
- VII. *Eumenes*, 10, or as *Eusebius*, 13. *S. Hierome* in his Translation calls him *Hymenæus*.
- VIII. *Marcus* or *Marcianus*, 13, or as *Eusebius*, 10.
- IX. *Celadion*, 10, but in *Eusebius* his computation, 14.
- X. *Agrippinus*, 14, according to *Eusebius*, 12.
- XI. *Julianus*, 15, though *Eusebius* allows but 10.
- XII. *Demetrius*, 21, but *Eusebius* more truly makes him to have governed that Church no less than 43 years. He was a Man of great zeal and piety, and underwent many troubles in the Persecution at *Alexandria*. He was at first a great friend to *Origen*, but afterwards became his enemy, laying some irregularities to his charge: partly out of emulation at the great reputation which *Origen* had gained in the World; partly, in that *Origen* had suffered himself to be ordained Presbyter by two other Bishops, *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theotistus* of *Cæsarea*.
- XIII. *Heraclas*, a Man of a Philosophical genius, and way of life. He was educated under the institution of *Origen*, and by him ta-

ken to be his Assistant in the School of the *Catechumens*, the whole government whereof he afterwards resigned to him; and upon the death of *Demetrius* he was advanced to the government of that Church, the care whereof he took for 16 years; though *Nicephorus of Constantinople* by a mistake, I suppose, for his Predecessor, makes it 43.

- XIV. *Dionysius*, 17. He was one of the most eminent Bishops of his time. He was one of *Origen's* Scholars, then prefer'd first Master of the *Catechetical* School at *Alexandria*, and afterwards Bishop of that See. In the Persecution under *Decius* he was banished first to *Tapofria*, a little Town between *Alexandria* and *Canopus*; then to *Cephre*, and other Places in the Deserts of *Libya*. But a large account of his own and others sufferings, with many other transactions of those times, we have out of his own Letters, yet extant in *Eusebius*. He died in the Twelfth Year of the Emperour *Gallienus*.

- XV. *Maximus*; of a Presbyter he was made Bishop of *Alexandria*; he fate in that Chair 18 years according to *Eusebius* his computation, though *Nicephorus of Constantinople* assign but 8.

- XVI. *Theonas*, 17, or according to *S. Hierom's* Version of *Eusebius*, 19. To him succeeded

- XVII. *Petrus*, 12. He began his office three years before the last Persecution. A Man of infinite strictness and accuracy, and of indefatigable industry for the good of the Church. He suffered in the ninth year of the Persecution, with the loss of his Head, gaining the Crown of Martyrdom. After whose death came

in the prosperous and happy days of the Church, *Constantine the Great* turning the black and dismal scene of things into a state of calmness and serenity.

XVIII. *Achillas*, 9, though *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople* allows him but one year. By him *Arius* up-

on his submission was ordained *Presbyter*.

XIX. *Alexander*, 23. Under him *Arius* began more openly to broach his Hereſie at *Alexandria*, who was thereupon excommunicated and thruſt out by *Alexander*, and ſhortly after condemn'd by the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*.

ERRATA.

Page. 45. l. 30. r. *SEMONI*. p. 59. l. 42. r. *frequent*.
p. 171. l. 8. r. *unintelligible*.

T H E E N D.